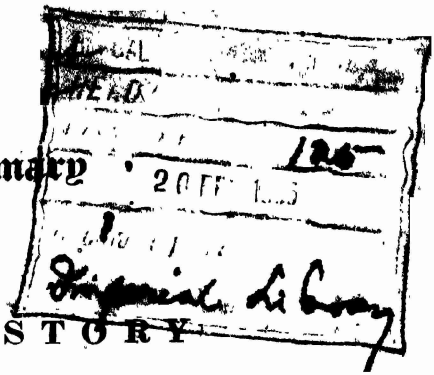

# A Summary

OF

# THE HISTORY

OF THE

# EAST INDIA COMPANY,

FROM THE

## GRANT OF THEIR FIRST CHARTER,

BY QUEEN ELIZABETH,

TO THE PRESENT PERIOD.

BY CAPTAIN THORNTON, R.N.

TEMPORA MUTANTUR, NOS ET MUTAMUR IN ILLIS.

LONDON:

JAMES RIDGWAY, PICCADILLY.

1833.

# PREFACE.

THE following Compilation has been made with a view of presenting to the general reader, a concise account of the origin, growth, and establishment, of the power of the East India Company in India.

To those who, by station, profession, or habits of study, are familiar with this subject, a Compendium of the principal events in the History of that Company may still be useful as a reference.

At this period, when the attention of the Legislature is drawn to the Indian Question, it is presumed that this volume may be noticed by its members.

To the able work of the Right Hon. Robert Grant, entitled "A Sketch of the History of the East India Company," published in 1813,

the Author is indebted for that part of his narrative which details the History of the Company previous to the regulating Act of 1773.

Much of the remainder of the narrative is an abridgment, or rather a transcript, of the highly interesting work, entitled "Historical and Descriptive Account of British India, from the most remote period to the present time." The publication alluded to, contains, in a moderate compass, a full view of the history, natural features, political, and social state of British India.

Orme's "Hindostan," Prinsep's "History of Transactions in India," Auber's "Analysis," the able Pamphlet, published in 1830, by William Smith O'Brien, Esq., the Papers printed by order of the Court of Proprietors, the Parliamentary Reports, and the Statutes relating to the East India Company, are the other sources whence the information embodied in this volume is drawn.

The details of the operations of the Force engaged in the war with the Birman Monarch, in 1824-5 and 6, are from the personal recollections and memoranda of the Author, who wit-

nessed many of them. Those relating to the last siege and capture of Bhurtpore are imperfectly given, in consequence of his not having immediate opportunity of doing justice to the conduct, and gallantry, displayed on that occasion.

The titles, and *substance*, of the legislative enactments, relating to India, will be generally found in chronological order, inserted in the text.

*London*, *May* 2, 1833.

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# SUMMARY

OF

## The History

OF THE

# EAST INDIA COMPANY.

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Institution of the East India Company. Royal Charter of Queen Elizabeth, 1600.

On the last day of the sixteenth century, a Royal Charter was issued by Queen Elizabeth, granting to George, Earl of Cumberland, and two hundred and fifteen Knights, Aldermen, and Merchants, the exclusive liberty of trading in the East Indian seas for fifteen years, and a promise of renewal for the same term, if the Institution should be found profitable to the crown and realm.

Surat, on the Western Coast of India, principal Settlement, 1612.

During the infancy of this commercial Corporation, the average profit on the capital invested in the Indian Trade, was supposed to be 132 per cent. In the year 1612, the system of trading to India on a stock formed by subscription, was first established; Bantam in Java, and Surat, became the principal stations of the Company in the East. At this time the cloths of Coromandel were in high request both in Java and Sumatra, and constituted the best medium of exchange for the produce of those islands.

Embassy to the Mogul Emperor, 1615.

In 1615, Sir Thomas Roe, was (at the request of the East India Company) deputed by James the First, as his Ambassador to the Mogul Emperor, with the view of obtaining privileges of trade for the English in his dominions. This mission was successful, and added to the security of the Factories already established there.

Company's Trade with Persia commenced 1616.

The trade of the Company with Persia, commenced in 1616, negotiations being established between it and Shah Abbas, the Persian Monarch, by whose permission the commercial Agents of the Company were established at Gombroon in the Persian, and Mocha in the Arabian Gulf. The stock of the first subscription of the Company, bore, at the end of four years, a premium of 203 per cent. But the jealousy of the Dutch nation, the neglect of James I., and the pecuniary necessities of his successor, obscured for a time the brightness of their prosperity. In 1635, Charles I. granted a license to Sir W. Courten, and others, to trade for a certain term of years, to all places in India where the Company had formed no settlements. The collision between the interests of this new Corporation, and those of the Company, was nearly fatal to both, and terminated in an accommodation between the parties, which took place the year preceding the establishment of the Commonwealth.

License granted to Sir Wm. Courten, by Charles I. 1635.

In 1643, the Naig or Chief of the district in which Madras is situated, granted to the Company the privilege of exercising judicial authority over the inhabitants, and exemption from customs, and a moiety of the customs paid by other traders. A fort was built at Madras, and named Fort St. George; and Madras, though not possessing the advantages of a sea-port, thus became the emporium of our commerce on the coast of Coromandel, and in 1653 was raised by the Company to the rank of a Presidency.

Grant of Settlement of Madras, 1643. Fort St. George built.

In the year 1645 the professional skill of Mr. Gabriel Boughton, a Surgeon of one of the East India ships, led to the acquirement of the favour of the Emperor of Delhi, and the subsequent establishment of factories in Bengal, the principal of which was at Hughly, all of them being subject to the Presidency of Madras; and the first regular despatches from Madras and Bengal, were received in England in that year, when the flames of civil war burst out at home, destroying public confidence, and paralysing the remotest members of the political Commonwealth.

Establishment of Factories in Bengal, 1645.

During the Protectorate, a considerable number of individuals were permitted to embark in the Indian trade independently. Thus was the trade to India in effect laid open for four years.

Trade thrown open, 1653.

The result of this suspension of the privileges of the East India Company by Cromwell, have been variously stated; some parties assert-

ing that the Free Traders were "eminently successful;" others that they "suffered deeply" by their enterprise. History informs us that it was found expedient to reinstate the Company in their entire privileges, which event took place in the year 1657; the restoration of the Company being the consequence of a report of the Protector's Council, among whom it was the subject of several debates.

On its re-establishment, the subscribed capital of the Company amounted to 739,782*l.* with half of which sum they recommenced their trade.

The restoration of Charles the Second proved a favourable event for the East India Company, as from that Monarch they received a Charter, dated April 3d, 1661, confirming their former privileges, and "Conferring on them, within "the limits of their trade, the power of making "Peace, or War, with any Prince, or People, "not Christian; of establishing Fortifications, "Garrisons, or Colonies; of exporting to their "Settlements Ammunition, and Stores, duty "free; of seizing, and sending to England such "British subjects, as should be found trading in "India without their License; and of exercising "in their Settlements, through the medium of "their Governors, and Councils, both Civil and "Criminal Judicature, according to the Laws of "England." A clause of the same Charter con-

Charter granted by Chas. II. 61.

firmed to them the possession of the island of St. Helena.

The commercial stations occupied by the Company, in the East Indies, were now grouped into several divisions. In each of these divisions there was a capital Factory.

The Factory, generally accessible by water-carriage from the sea, consisted of a number of buildings, or offices. Several servants of the Company, under one chief Agent, were there stationed, and exercised a general superintendance over the commercial concerns throughout the division. Contracts were formed by the agents with the native merchants, who, on receiving a certain advance of stock, obliged themselves, under pecuniary penalties, to deliver a given quantity of goods at a stipulated period.

At different times, and in different sets, the Factories were grouped together under the name of *Presidencies*. These Presidencies were governed by an Agent, and Council, the *Presidents*, or Agents, being appointed by the Committee in England, as the body now termed the Court of Directors was then denominated. Previous to the year 1670, neither the system of the government, nor graduation of the service of the Company appears to have been regulated with precision.

The Factors, and other servants, were interdicted from such commercial dealings, on their

private account, as might interfere with those of the Company. They were, however, not only allowed to embark in the coasting trade of India, but to import on private account, by the ships of the Company, on payment of a small acknowledgment for freight. In 1674, diamonds, pearls, ambergrease, and musk, were allowable articles of private trade to the Company's servants. In 1680, the Company resumed the trade in diamonds, yet even then their servants were allowed a commission of five per cent. on the purchase of the article, and a proportion of the profit from its sale in Europe.

The salaries of the servants of the Company were at this time very small, and the privileges of private trade above-mentioned, constituted the principal source of income to most of them.'

The supreme authority, in India, was vested at different Presidencies, as circumstances led the Committee in London to delegate it. It was occasionally vested in an individual sent from England, and sometimes suspended altogether. This, however, was before any extensive dominion was acquired, which demanded a fixed, supreme seat of executive government.

Factories established in China, 1665.

In 1665 the Factors of the Company at Bantam, succeeded in establishing Factories at Tywon, and at Tonquin in China, tea having

now begun to form an article in their investments. In the season of 1667-8 the agent at Bantam is desired to send "100lb. waight of the best tey that he could gett."

Hitherto the British Factories, except that of Madras, had been comparatively unprotected by any military establishments of their own. The Mogul Court, though it conferred upon foreigners resident within its dominions the privileges of commerce, denied them the exercise of civil jurisdiction, or the assumption of military strength.

Island and castle of Bombay ceded, 1668.

In the year 1668, King Charles II. ceded the island, and castle of Bombay, to the Company. These had been received at his marriage with Catherine the Infanta of Portugal, as part of the portion of that Princess. The island of Bombay forming, with that of Salsette, one of the largest, and most secure harbours in the world, was in every point of view, a most valuable acquisition. The settlement grew rapidly in strength, in wealth, and in population. At the time of its cession the annual revenue of the island was estimated at 6490*l*. In the course of seven years this revenue had been doubled.

The settlement of Madras likewise flourished at this time; increasing rapidly in importance and wealth.

The settlements in Bengal soon followed in the march of prosperity. Though unable as yet to construct fortifications, or exercise civil authority

over the natives resident within their boundaries; yet the commodities imported to England from them were of high value, and occasioned a great export of bullion, which was cherished and encouraged by the native Princes. Silks also were now imported to England from Bengal. In 1682 Bengal, which had previously been considered as subordinate to Madras, was constituted an independent Agency.

Bengal constituted an Agency independent of Madras, 1682.

In the year 1677 the East India Company employed in their intercourse with India from thirty to thirty-five ships, from 3 to 600 tons. The value of their exports in the year 1674-5, might be called, in bullion 320,000*l.*, in cloth and other goods 110,000*l.* Of their imports, which generally consisted of calicoes, pepper, saltpetre, indigo, raw silk, wrought silk, and drugs, the sale prices in England, annually amounted to 860,000*l.* at least.

This return, large as it appears, had to cover, besides the expenses of the adventure, a large sum for customs, and about 60,000*l.* for charges in India, for the maintenance of Factories and garrisons, which had been built, together with the expenses of negotiations with the native Princes. The account of the Company at the same time states, that the price of their stock, which in 1665 was fallen to 70 per cent., was now advanced to 245.

In 1677, Charles II. granted a confirmatory

Charter, empowering them to establish a mint at Bombay, for coining any money not current in England or its dependencies out of India. Confirmatory Charter granted by Charles II. 1679.

The chartered immunities of the Company were however invaded by the Free Traders of that day, who received the name of Interlopers, and had it not been for the vigorous administration of the Company's affairs at home and abroad, by the brothers Sir Josiah, and Sir John Child, the influence of the British name at the Courts of the various native Princes of India, must have declined, and other nations might have at this day possessed that Empire, which has been extended by British enterprise, and British valour, from the mouths of the Indus, to those of the Irrawaddy.

Through the exertions of the above-named efficient servants of the Company, new privileges were granted to them by Charles II. Letters-patent were issued in August 1683, confirming their former Charters, and empowering them to exercise martial law in all their forts, factories, and plantations. A Court of Admiralty was instituted at Bombay, with power of decision in all cases affecting the rights of the Company by sea; and finally, the power of levying troops was conferred on them by the same letters-patent. Letters-patent of Charles II. 1683.

James II. not only confirmed, but enlarged these powers, authorising the Company to coin

money in all their forts, and to exercise martial law, as well on board their ships at sea, as in their settlements on shore.

Question of the right of exclusive trade tried, and decided in the Company's favour, 1685.

In 1685, the question of the right of the Company to exclusive trade, was first brought to a legal issue before Judge Jeffreys in the Court of King's Bench, in the case of a Mr. Thomas Sandys, who was prosecuted by them as guilty of a violation of their patent by trading without license in the East. The Court pronounced a determination in favour of the prosecutors.

The Company became very unpopular after this decision, and a violent clamour arose against them as monopolists. An association was formed to promote the project of a Joint Stock Company, and amidst this tumult, the leading Directors of the Company degraded it, themselves, and their country, by corruptly purchasing the interest of many Officers of State, and Members of Parliament. This shameful abuse was discovered by the House of Commons, where it was ascertained that upwards of 100,000*l.* had been paid by the Directors for the services in question!

Sir Thomas Cooke, the Governor of the Company, was committed to the Tower for refusing to answer the questions put to him in his place in Parliament. The inquiry that followed implicated persons of great eminence, among others the Duke of Leeds, against whom the House of Commons preferred articles of impeachment before the Lords.

About the year 1692 the Agency was removed from Hughly, to the town of Calcutta, and leave was obtained from the Nabob of that district, to fortify this new station. The fortifications of the new possession being completed, received the name of Fort William, in compliment to the King of England, and at the same time the Agency of Bengal obtained the rank of a Presidency.

Fort built at Calcutta, 1692.

Bombay had now effectually superseded the primitive settlement of Surat in importance, and in the year 1700, the three principal Presidencies were Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta, though the Supreme Government was not yet permanently established at any of them.

The Merchants who had associated to form a new Company, and, who were principally persons connected with the interloping interest, at length triumphed. In 1698 Government was in immediate want of a sum of two millions. The East India Company offered to advance to the public 700,000*l.* at 4 per cent., as the price of a confirmation of their Charter by Parliament.

Their capital, at this time, amounted to 754,000*l.* The offer was rejected, and a Bill brought in for raising two millions at 8 per cent. The subscribers to be erected into a new Company with exclusive privileges. The old Company then commenced a subscription for the two millions, on the ground of the conditions pro-

posed by the Bill. Yet the Bill, after a great opposition in both Houses, passed, and the New Company was established by a Charter from the King. Thus were two rival Companies established, each conducted on the principle of a joint stock. The old one was known by the name of the London Company, the new by that of the English Company. The English Company hastened to despatch an ambassador, under the immediate commission of the King, in the person of Sir William Norris, to the Court of the Mogul Emperor, with a view of procuring for that Company special advantages of trade. This mission failed of its object.

New Company established by Charter of William III. 1698.

This disunion between men who were subjects of the same Sovereign, exposed both parties to the arrogance, and tyranny of the native Princes. The expediency of a union between the two Companies became every day more apparent, and that union eventually took place under the arbitration of Lord Godolphin. An indenture tripartite, dated July 22d, 1702, was executed between the Queen, and the two Companies, by which it was agreed that they should be united at the termination of the ensuing seven years. In conformity with this agreement, an Act of Parliament passed in 1708, by which the Companies were consolidated under the name of "The United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies," with exclu-

Union of the Companies, 1702.

Act of Parliament passed, consolidating the Companies under the name of the "United "Company of "Merchants "trading to the "East Indies," 1708.

sive privileges till the year 1726. On the union of the Companies, the name of *Committees* which had been affixed to the managing members of the old Company, was changed to that of *Directors*, which had been introduced by the new association.

During the separate existence of the Companies, the London Company succeeded in establishing a direct trade with Canton. An important accession of territory was made at this period. Soon after the death of the Emperor Aurunzebe, which occurred in Feb. 1707, Mahommed Mauzim, his eldest surviving son, succeeded in establishing himself on his throne, after a severe struggle. An embassy to the new sovereign was now determined on by the Court of Directors. This embassy is supposed to have owed its success to the skill of Mr. Hamilton, the surgeon, who accompanied it. He performed a cure on the person of the Emperor, who granted thirty-four patents, which were eventually issued in the year 1717, one of which enabled the English to purchase the lordship of thirty-seven towns contiguous to Calcutta, and commanding the banks of the river Hooghly, for ten miles south of that city.

Embassy to the Mogul Court, 1717.

In the mean time the United Company established a set of Factories on the island of Sumatra, of which Bencoolen was the chief.

A Company, denominated the "Ostend Com-

pany," had attempted to establish itself in India about this period, and to open a trade between the Austrian Netherlands and the East. This interference with their commericial privileges was warmly resented both by the Dutch, and English East India Companies; and, eventually, the treaty of Hanover guaranteed to them the advantages which they had previously enjoyed, the Emperor of Austria yielding to the formidable confederacy between France, England, Holland, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden.

Establishment of Courts of Law at Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta, by Geo. I. 1726.

In the year 1726, the Government of King George I. established at the three settlements of Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta, regular Courts of Record (termed Mayor's Courts), for the administration of both civil, and criminal justice. In 1730, the Company obtained a renewal of their Charter from Parliament, on their giving a premium of two hundred thousand pounds, and consenting that the interest of the debt owing to them from the public, should be reduced from five, to four per cent.

French war, 1745.

The war between England and France, which commenced in 1745, produced events of great importance in our Indian history. In 1746, Madras was besieged by an armament under Mons. de la Bourdonnais, and compelled to capitulate. Admiral Boscawen afterwards attempted to avenge the capture of Madras by that of Pondicherry, but the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle re-

stored the former settlement to the English. The army of the Nabob of the Carnatic, who successively favoured each of the belligerents, suffered a total defeat from a very inferior French force, this being the first occasion on which the superiority of European arms was signally manifested in Hindostan. 1746.

The peace did not remove the military means which had been collected in Pondicherry, during the previous contest. The eager ambition of the French leaders at that settlement was stimulated by this short war; and the events which followed, led to the extension of British influence, and final establishment of British dominion in the Carnatic.

Seven years' war of the Carnatic, 1748.

The territory of the Carnatic was disputed between the Nabobs, Anwaradeen Khan, and a rival claimant, Chunda Sahib, in the year 1748, M. Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, supported the latter, who was thus enabled to overthrow the army of Anwaradeen in a pitched battle, in which Anwaradeen was killed, and his second son, Mahommed Ali Khan fled for succour to the English.

The rapacious schemes of the French had been foreseen and announced by Mr. Morse, the Governor of Madras, but it was not till the recognition of the justice of the claim of Mahommed Ali to the Nabobship of the Carnatic, by Nazir Jung, the lawful Viceroy of the Deccan,

that the English espoused the alliance of the Subahdar of the Deccan, and his dependent chief, in opposition to the claims of the usurper, Chunda Sahib.

Such was the origin of a war, which, in whatever manner it might have terminated, could scarcely fail of giving either to France, or England, or to both, the territory and dominion of the Peninsula.

The English name acquired in this struggle no less reputation for good faith, and humanity, than their arms obtained for efficiency; and Mahommed Ali was established in his Principality after the capture of Pondicherry, which led to the grant of the possessions which their victories over the French had obtained for the English, who received from Mahommed Ali a grant of the territory about Madras, and the advantage of a powerful and durable influence in the Carnatic.

Previously, however, to this happy result, the operations of the English on the coast, were retarded by the necessity of detaching a force to the succour, or rather re-establishment of their interests in Bengal.

In the year 1741 Alaverdi, a Tartar by birth, and a military adventurer, usurped the Nabobship of Bengal, after deposing the family to which he owed his fortunes. He died in 1756, leaving his grand nephew, Surajah Dowla, as his successor.

This young prince appears to have ascended the musnud with strong prepossessions against the English. Understanding that the Presidency of Calcutta were building a wall, and digging a moat round that city, he commanded them by letter not only to desist from their purpose, but to destroy the works they had erected. The Governor replied, by stating, that the prospect of a speedy rupture between France and England, induced them to repair their fortifications on the river face.

Naboh of Bengal attacks Calcutta, 1756.

The Nabob affected to regard any resolutions of self-defence, on the part of the English, as a reflection on him, their lawful protector, and instantly marched at the head of his army to attack Calcutta, with its dependent settlements.

Having first taken, and wantonly plundered a small fort belonging to the Company at Cossimbazar, he advanced towards Calcutta, of the riches of which town he had formed the most extravagant notions. The town was gallantly, though not very skilfully defended for three days, when the Governor, with several of the principal persons of the settlement, made their escape by means of the vessels in the river, leaving the rest of the inhabitants to their fate. This desertion reduced those that remained, after a further resistance of twenty-four hours, to the necessity of a surrender. After his entrance into the fort,

Surajah Dowla promised his prisoners that their lives should be spared.

On the same night, however, the Europeans, to the number of one hundred and forty-six persons, were, in the most sultry season of the Bengal year, confined for twelve hours within a cube of eighteen feet, having no outlets excepting two small windows strongly barred.

All but twenty-three perished, and some of these survived only to experience from the Nabob fresh cruelties, inflicted with a view of extorting the secret (as he supposed it) of their hoarded treasure.

On the intelligence of the destruction of the settlement of Calcutta reaching Madras, an expedition was immediately prepared to resent the lawless invasion, and cruelty of the Nabob of Bengal. It consisted of nine hundred Europeans and fifteen hundred Sepoys, under the command of Colonel Clive. The troops were conveyed by a squadron of ships of war, commanded by Admiral Watson, consisting of the Kent of 64 guns, Cumberland of 70, Tiger of 60, Salisbury of 50, and Bridgewater of 20 guns. Admiral Watson had his flag in the Kent, and Admiral Pocock in the Cumberland. The squadron sailed on the 16th of October, 1756, from Madras roads. The Cumberland having grounded on the sand heads, bore up for Vizagapatam. Notwithstanding the absence of that ship and

Expedition from Madras to Bengal, 1756.

the Marlborough, a Company's ship, with the field artillery on board, the remainder of the squadron, by lightening the ships, succeeded in reaching Calcutta after capturing the forts in possession of the Nabob's troops below the town, and on the 1st of January, 1757, the Kent and Tiger, anchored opposite the fort at Calcutta, Colonel Clive, with the greatest part of the Europeans and Sepoys, having landed below. After a vigorous cannonade from the ships, which was returned from the town, and fort, during which the Kent lost nine men, and the Tiger seven, the enemy deserted the fort, and soon after the town, when a detachment sent from the ships under Captain Coote, hoisted the English colours in the fort. Admiral Watson reinstated Mr. Drake and the former Members of the Council in the Government.*

Calcutta retaken January 1st, 1757.

The town of Hughly was now attacked and taken. The hostilities with the Nabob terminated on the 9th of February, a treaty being concluded restoring the English Factories, and permitting the English to fortify Calcutta in whatever manner they might think expedient.

News of the renewed war between France and England had now reached India, and Colonel Clive contemplated the addition of the French settlement of Chandernagore to his achieved conquests. The Nabob of Bengal, however,

French war of 1756.

* Orme.

interposed his prohibition against the attack of that place. A treaty of neutrality with the Government of Chandernagore was next set on foot, but that Government having declared that their compacts would not be binding on their superior settlement of Pondicherry, Admiral Watson refused his ratification of the treaty. Clive proposed that Chandernagore should be attacked in spite of the Nabob's prohibition, but from this measure Watson likewise recoiled. The Admiral, however, did not yet despair of obtaining the permission of Surajah Dowla for the undertaking, which was at length given, and Chandernagore was invested and taken.

Surajah Dowla had not been yet led to abandon his vindictive purposes against the British interests. He was in correspondence with M. Bussy, who then with distinguished ability commanded the French forces in the Deccan. Some of the principal officers of Surajah Dowla, alarmed at the violence, and disgusted with the contemptibleness of his character, formed plans for deposing him, and more than one of these was submitted to the English. They closed with that of Meer-Jaffier-Ali-Khan, a person of the highest distinction in the state, and celebrated for his military qualifications.

Battle of Plassey, 1757.

This arrangement led immediately to the famous battle of Plassey, by the event of which Meer Jaffier gained the Nabobship, and his

English allies a large treasure, a portion of territory adjoining to Calcutta, and a considerable influence in the Government of the new Nabob.

Meer Jaffier was established on his musnud in 1757, the final peace on the coast was not concluded till 1763. Before that period Bengal had become the theatre of another revolution, and other wars; the British dominion in that quarter, whether considered as one of territory, or of influence, was fast extending itself, and so soon as 1765 an arrangement took place, which virtually conferred on the Presidency of Calcutta the empire of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. Previous to 1757 the history of the British connexion with India, has exhibited the successful establishment of commercial intercourse with that country, without the extension of territorial possession, or acquisition of political influence, beyond that required for the security of the British settlements. The period had now arrived when those settlements were to form the nuclei of that rapidly increasing power, which, like the spreading ramification of the tree of the east, strikes fresh root from its branches.

Surajah Dowla deposed, 1757.

The authority of the Emperor of Delhi was now no more. The Viceroys of the different provinces had thrown off obedience to their nominal head, and established themselves as independent sovereigns. Among these the Nabobs of Bengal, of Oude, and of the Carnatic,

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and the Nizam of the Deccan, were the chief Mahommedan princes who had founded their power upon the ruins of the ancient monarchy. In the Peninsula, Hyder Ali was gaining possession of a large kingdom, which was acquired by usurpation, and extended by conquest. The western side of the Deccan, with Central India, and many of the northern parts of Hindostan, had been subjugated, and were governed by the Mahrattahs, a race of Hindoo warriors who had shaken off the Mahommedan yoke, and avenged the previous subjection of their country.

By the treaty between the English, and the new Nabob, it had been stipulated, that the latter should pay a large sum into the treasury of Calcutta. The English guaranteed by the same treaty the continuance of the new Nabob in power; but their union was not destined to be of long duration, and after taking the field together against the son and heir-apparent of the Mogul, and the Mahrattahs, expediency was urged as a plea for dethroning Meer Jaffier, and placing his son-in-law and general, Meer Cossim Ali Khan, upon the musnud. By this transaction, which it is idle to attempt to palliate, the British Government incurred not only considerable dangers, but much odium.

Meer Jaffier deposed, 1760. Cossim Ali appointed his successor.

Previously, however, to this event, the Dutch projected the overthrow of the English establishments in Bengal. An expedition was fitted out

Dutch expedition to Bengal attacked and defeated.

at Batavia, and in the month of August entered the river of Bengal, with the profession of proceeding to the Dutch settlement at Chinsurah. Clive, suspecting an understanding between the Nabob, Meer Jaffier, and the Dutch, called on that Prince to insist on the departure of the Dutch from the river. Meer Jaffier expressed extreme displeasure at the conduct of the Dutch, but did not act with promptitude or vigour towards them; and they landed their whole force near Calcutta, with the view of marching over land to Chinsurah. In this emergency Clive ordered Colonel Ford to attack the Dutch land forces, and despatched three English Indiamen, equipped for the purpose of attacking the seven Dutch ships. Ford dispersed the land force, and the ships were captured. The Governor and Council of Chinsurah afterwards submitted. They consented (on a restoration of the ships and effects captured) to reimburse the English for the expenses incurred in this affair; and, in behalf of their own Company, entered into new treaties, both with the English, and the Nabob, by which provisions were made against the recurrence of similar occasions of jealousy.

In 1759-60, Admiral Pocock defeated the fleet of Monsieur D'Ache. The arrival of Admiral Cornish, who joined Pocock, gave the English such a superiority in the Indian seas, as caused the French fleet to withdraw from them.

Clive leaves Bengal, 1760.

Colonel Clive left Bengal for England in 1760, and was provisionally succeeded in the government of Bengal by Mr. Holwell.

Vansittart appointed Governor of Bengal, Aug. 1760.

Mr. Vansittart was appointed the regular successor of Clive, and took possession of his government in August, 1760.

The instability of the Nabobship of Bengal was now fully exposed. The circumstances of the sudden elevation of Cossim Ali might teach him an emphatic lesson, that the protection of the British was as precarious as their authority was stern. Taught at once the value of their friendship, and the weight of their power, he was under the strongest inducements to render himself, at whatever expense, independent of both.

Mogul army defeated, and Mogul surrenders, 1761.

The Mogul again appeared in arms in the Behar province in 1761, with a force of 10,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry. He was attacked and defeated by the British force under Major Carnac, on the 15th of January 1761, and the French detachment with him were made prisoners. The Mogul now surrendered himself to the British Commander, and renewed those overtures of friendship which he had already often tendered. The Emperor was treated with great respect, and escorted to the northern division of the provinces, whence he proceeded to Oude.

Before leaving the account of the exploits of Clive, it should be recorded, that with his assistance, Admiral Watson, in February 1756, reduced the piratical strongholds of Gheriah and Severndroog, on the coast of Concan near Bombay.

The Nabob Cossim Ali manifested some distrust of the English Government, by dismissing the troops which had served under his predecessor, and forming a new and powerful army, officered chiefly by Moguls. He removed the seat of his own residence from Moorshedebad to Monghir, a fortified place, farther distant from Calcutta by 200 miles. Above all, he laboured to improve the state of his treasury, collecting with great diligence an exorbitantly enhanced revenue.

The phirmaun or grant which the East India Company had obtained from the Mogul Court in 1717, had conferred on their trade the privilege of an entire exemption from the payment of customs in the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

The numerous natives employed by the British Company as their agents, presuming on the rights, and general ascendancy of the British name, had accustomed themselves to treat the officers of the Nabob with insolence, and his subjects with injustice and oppression. Many natives, unconnected with the British, availed themselves of their privilege. Marching through the country, preceded by the English flag, they with impunity committed outrages on a population too timid, and ignorant to challenge the ostensible ensigns of an authority held in profound reverence.

Cossim Ali, after a few complaints had been made by his subjects, issued instructions to his

officers, disallowing the protecting influence of the phirmaun, with respect to the inland trade. He also recalled licenses granted by himself, permitting individual Europeans to carry on commercial operations. The suddenness of this blow proved to some of the servants of the Company all but ruinous. The pre-existing jealousies of the English were inflamed into rage, and a remonstrance to the Nabob was determined on.

Mr. Vansittart, accompanied by Mr. Hastings, repaired to the new residence of the Nabob at Monghir, in December, 1762. The result of this visit was a treaty, commonly known under the name of the Monghir Treaty. By this instrument it was conceded, that the authority of the passport should be confined to the trade of export, or import, and that, in the inland trade, the British should no longer possess any exclusive privilege. At the same time, the rate of the duties chargeable on British goods was fixed. It was further conceded, that the native agents of the English, should be deprived of the judicial power they had assumed, and should in future be amenable to the native magistrates of the country.

Treaty of Monghir concluded, Dec. 1762.

These concessions, though agreed to by Mr. Vansittart the Governor, were rejected by the majority of the Council.*

Cossim Ali, however, lost no time in putting

* Vansittart's Narrative.

the provisions of the treaty in full execution; and Messrs. Amyatt and Hay were deputed by the Council of Calcutta, to represent that the provisional treaty was disapproved of by them. They were to assert, on the part of the Company and their servants, the right, by the Imperial Phirmaun, to a complete immunity from duties; but to admit, as a matter of favour to the Nabob, a small impost on salt. Before this deputation could leave Calcutta, the Nabob had abolished, throughout his provinces, the payment of all customs for two years, an act of unjustifiable aggression upon the established privileges of the Company. Besides these causes of contention, others arose from the jealousies between the English Factory and troops at Patna, and the forces of the Nabob stationed in the fort of that city. Patna is about a hundred miles beyond Monghir on the Ganges. Mr. Ellis, the British Resident there, had long been considered by the Nabob as his personal enemy.

Deputation to Cossim Ali, May, 1763.

The deputies were admitted to an interview with Cossim Ali on the 15th of May, 1763. His reply to their representation was evasive and resentful. He seized some boats, laden with arms, destined for the British garrison at Patna, while Messrs. Amyatt and Hay were at Monghir, and he insisted on the removal of the British force from Patna, and other stations in

the country, as the first step to a restoration of his friendship.

The position of the Factory, and force at Patna, was, from its situation, critical; and in consequence of their application, they received from the Council of the Presidency at Calcutta, the power to seize upon the fort of Patna, then in possession of the Nabob's troops, though this permission was given without the consent of Governor Vansittart, or Mr. Hastings. Mr. Amyatt was allowed to return to Calcutta, and Mr. Hay retained as a hostage for the safety of such of the Nabob's officers as were in the hands of the British.

The dismissal of Mr. Amyatt had been announced by the Nabob, but had scarcely taken place when hostilities commenced. In the night of the 24th of June, the British troops at Patna took possession of the fort by surprise. This proceeding the Gentlemen who directed it, were never afterwards in a situation to explain. It was an act of treachery, which produced immediate war, and which it is hopeless to attempt to palliate.

Fort of Patna seized by the British. June 24th, 1763.

On the noon of the day after the seizure of the fort of Patna, the fort was in turn surprised by the troops of the Nabob. The Gentlemen of the Factory, and the remains of the British garrison, fled across the Ganges, but were pursued, destroyed, or made prisoners; Mr. Ellis being

among the number of the latter. Mr. Amyatt was attacked and barbarously murdered, on his return to Calcutta, with several other Gentlemen and servants who composed his suite. The Factory at Cossimbazar was taken, and the Gentlemen attached to it carried prisoners to Monghir.

The first accounts of actual war had suggested to the Council the propriety of the restoration of the ex-Nabob, Meer Jaffier. Considerable progress had already been made in the preliminaries to the fulfilment of this resolution; and as a condition of his reinstatement, Meer Jaffier consented to cede to the Company the districts already granted them by Cossim Ali, of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong; and also to accord to them those commercial privileges which Cossim Ali had withdrawn.

Meer Jaffier re-instated as Nabob, July 7th, 1763.

On the 7th of July, 1763, Meer Jaffier was proclaimed Subahdar of the three provinces; and, on the following day, this proclamation received the signature of Governor Vansittart and Mr. Hastings, both of whom had hitherto declined to participate in the restitution of the ex-Nabob.

War declared against Cossim Ali, July, 1763.

The British Government also declared war against Cossim Ali.

On the 19th July the British force, commanded by Major Adams, and consisting of about seven hundred Europeans, and between

two and three thousand Sepoys, totally defeated a large body of the enemy, under one of the generals of Cossim Ali, half way between Calcutta and Moorshedebad. On the 24th, they gained possession of that city, together with fifty pieces of cannon.

Battle of Geriah, Aug. 2d, 1763.

On the 2d of August, they encountered, on the plain of Geriah, near the Cossimbazar river, the whole of the hostile force then subsisting in the lower part of Bengal. It was composed of about fifteen thousand black cavalry, and ten thousand regular disciplined Sepoys, with seventeen pieces of cannon, worked by a hundred and seventy Europeans.

After an obstinate combat of four hours, in which the fortune of the enemy seemed at first to prevail, they were completely routed, abandoning their cannon, and a hundred and fifty boats laden with grain and stores.

Storming of Oudanulla, 5th Sept. 1763.

The fort of Oudanulla next fell, having been defended by one hundred pieces of cannon, till it was stormed by the force under Major Adams on the 5th of September.

Cossim Ali was now at Monghir, whence, as from an eminence, he beheld the ruin of his fortunes. Indignant at the triumph of his enemies, the natural cruelty of the Chief vented itself in the murder of the Hindoo prisoners at Monghir; which place he despaired of defending, and accordingly fled to Patna.

Cossim Ali flies to Patna.

The consummation of his sanguinary career yet remained. From Patna, Cossim Ali despatched a letter to Major Adams, then on his march to Monghir, containing the following expressions. "If you are resolved to proceed in this business, know for a certainty that I will cut off the heads of Mr. Ellis and the rest of your Chiefs, and send them to you." The British prisoners at this time in his hands, consisted of fifty gentlemen, civil and military, and a hundred persons of lower rank.

Major Adams, on the receipt of this letter, conveyed a letter to Messrs. Ellis and Hay, earnestly entreating that they would, at any price, purchase their liberty from their keepers. Whatever errors those Gentlemen had previously committed, their magnanimity in this severe exigence amply redeemed. In answer to the British Commander, they signified that their escape was impossible, but at the same time desired him on no account to suspend the progress of the British arms.

Major Adams, and Mr. Vansittart, to whom the despatch of the Nabob had been transmitted from the army, immediately addressed Cossim Ali in letters deprecatory of the threatened cruelty; each using such language as he deemed most likely to prove effectual. But menace and remonstrance were alike lost on Cossim Ali. On the 5th of October, 1763, the threatened

Massacre of Mr. Ellis, and European prisoners by Cossim Ali, Oct. 5, 1763.

massacre took place, the immediate perpetration of it being delegated to Sumroo, a German, who had deserted the British service for that of the Nabob. The house in which the Europeans were confined was surrounded; Messrs. Ellis, Hay, Lushington, and six other Gentlemen were selected as the first victims, and being conducted into a little outer square, were in the most inhuman manner murdered, and cut into pieces, after which their remains were thrown into a well. The main body of the Europeans was then collected in a larger square, and the Sepoys having fired on them, rushed in, and cut them to pieces also. The only person saved was Mr. Fullarton, a surgeon, who possibly owed his life to his profession. Six days afterwards seven other gentlemen who had been confined separately from the rest, were in their turn butchered.

The British army gained possession of Monghir in the beginning of October, by capitulation, and

Storming of Patna, Nov. 6, 1763.

of Patna, on the 6th of November, by storm. Some weeks before the latter event, Cossim Ali had taken flight from the scene of his atrocities.

Early in the following month he escaped into the dominions of Sujah Dowla, the Nabob of Oude, carrying with him the shattered remnants of his army, and a treasure, which, in money and jewels, is reported to have exceeded the value of two millions sterling. Not an indi-

vidual, now remained in arms for him throughout the three provinces.

The expulsion of Cossim Ali Khan took place in 1763. Previously to that event, the consequence of the Company had received an accession, which as yet there has been no opportunity of mentioning. The possession of the castle of Surat was confirmed to the English by the Court of Delhi in 1759. An expedition had likewise been fitted out at Madras, in 1762, against the Philippine islands belonging to Spain, which country was at war with Great Britain. The immediate interest of the Company in this enterprise, was the security of their China trade. The land forces employed on the occasion were composed both of the King's and Company's troops. The transports and stores were supplied by the Company. The conquest was achieved, but not till after great difficulties were encountered, nor without a determined resistance on the part of the Spaniards.

Expedition against the Philippine islands, 1762.

The same year which witnessed the expulsion of Cossim Ali from the three provinces, also produced in Europe a pacification between England on the one hand, and France with her allies on the other.

Peace between England and France, 1763.

By the treaty of peace the Philippine islands were restored to Spain, and the French regained the Factories of which they had been in possession in India in 1749.

The French renounced any pretensions to the territories they had recently acquired on the coasts of Coromandel and Orissa. They engaged that they would neither erect fortifications, nor maintain troops, in the Subah of Bengal; and they acknowledged Mahommed Ali Khan as lawful Nabob of the Carnatic.

The English retained the newly acquired possessions of the circar of Masulipatam, the castle of Surat, their territory round Madras, and the districts obtained by cession in Bengal.

In the pursuit of Cossim Ali the British army reached the frontier of the territories of Bengal and Oude. The fugitive Prince had taken refuge in the Court of Sujah Dowla, the Nabob of Oude, who at the same time harboured a still more illustrious exile, the young Mogul.

Major Adams, at the close of his late victorious campaign, had retired to Calcutta, where he fell a victim to his previous exertions; and discontent, fomented as it is supposed by the native Chiefs at Oude, had spread among the Company's troops to such a degree as almost to amount to mutiny.

Encouraged by this appearance of disunion in the British force, Sujah Dowla, who had already collected an army on the frontier of Oude, determined on hostility, and he was joined by the Rajah of Benares.

In the month of March, 1764, Major Carnac

took command of the British army, and having by some severe examples of military punishment, at least limited the prevalence of insubordination, he repulsed the Vizier Sujah Dowla in an obstinate engagement fought near Patna, on the 3d of May. The Calcutta Government urged Major Carnac to carry the war into Oude, and he was proceeding with his wonted success, when he was superseded by Major Munro, who, with some reinforcements, had recently arrived from Bombay. Major Munro, finding the army still infected with a spirit of mutiny and desertion, had recourse to some inflictions of terrible severity. In one morning, 24 Sepoys were blown from the mouths of cannon. Some grenadiers among these sufferers urged their title to the post of honour, and on that ground were blown away first. The rigorous proceedings of the Commander produced the desired effect. Discipline was restored, and Munro marched and defeated the enemy on the frontier, on the 23d of October, 1764. By the demolition of a bridge, Sujah Dowla saved the main body of his army from destruction, and at the same time preserved the treasures of Cossim Ali as well as his own from capture. This battle was fought at a place called Buxar. On the following day the Mogul, who had taken no part in the battle, solicited from the British Commander the protection of the Company. His proposals on the

Battle of Buxar, Oct. 23, 1764.

Surrender of the Mogul Emperor.

subject were forwarded to the Government of Calcutta, from which he received in reply a promise of the possession of the territories of Oude, so soon as they should be conquered; on condition of his reimbursing the expenses which the service would have cost the Company from the date of the alliance.

On the part of Sujah Dowla the war had commenced aggressively; it was now, on his part, reduced to a struggle for existence. He again negotiated, offering vast presents to the British Commander, yet with honourable fidelity refusing the surrender of Cossim Ali, though he agreed to procure the assassination of Sumroo, the agent of Cossim Ali's cruelty. In this resolution he persevered, while the British, under Munro and Sir Robert Fletcher, overran his dominions. Retaining his treasures, however, he could still find allies. A Mahrattah Chief, named Mulhar Kow, armed a considerable force in his support, but this new enemy was in May, 1765, driven back by Carnac, who had now resumed the command of the British troops, with the rank of Brigadier-General.

During the period of this campaign, the native Government of Bengal underwent a change. The Nabob, Meer Jaffier, died in January, 1765, and was succeeded by his son Nudjum-ud-Dowla.

Death of Meer Jaffier, Jan. 1765.

Sujah Dowla's cause was now lost. Dismissing Cossim Ali and Sumroo, who took refuge in

Upper India, he repaired to the British camp, and surrendered himself to the General. Surrender of Sujah Dowla.

One of the consequences of the first revolution in Bengal, was a considerable degree of collision between the servants of the Company principally concerned in that transaction, and the leading Directors in England. Hitherto the communications, however harshly toned, of the Court of Directors, had been received by their servants abroad with submissiveness. But the actors in the recent scenes in Bengal, feeling, and possibly overrating, both the importance of their achievements, and the merit of their services, resented censures which appeared to them at once imperious and unjust. Shortly before the departure of Colonel Clive for Europe, the Council of Calcutta, with the Governor at their head, had addressed the Directors on this subject, in the language of free and even indignant remonstrance. For this address, all the Members of Council who remained in India, were dismissed.

The ex-servants, however, possessed influence and connexion in the Court of Proprietors, and thus there was laid in the proprietary a foundation for violent party combats.

The contentions in question first drew the inspecting notice of Parliament, on the system pursued by the servants of the Company, and paved the way for the establishment of that

effective control which is now exercised over Indian transactions.

At the earnest request of the Proprietors, in 1764, Colonel Clive, now dignified with a Peerage, consented to revisit Bengal in the capacity of Governor. A select Committee, with full powers, was nominated to accompany him, partly composed of old servants. This distinguished statesman commenced his second career in India by declaring, that he did so with a resolution of not increasing by it his private fortune to the value of a single sixpence.

Arrival of Lord Clive in Calcutta, May, 1765.

Lord Clive, with the select Committee, arrived at Calcutta early in May, 1765. He had heard of the death of Meer Jaffier at Madras, and at Calcutta found that the Government had elevated to the vacant musnud Nudjum-ud-Dowla, a youth of twenty, the second son of the deceased, in preference to his grandson, a boy of six years old. Nudjum-ud-Dowla was likewise reputed to be illegitimate. His elevation by the Calcutta Government was accompanied by the acceptance of presents to an immense amount, by several of the Members in Council, from himself and persons in important stations in his Court.

The Members in Council had shortly previous to this transaction, received despatches from the Court of Directors, expressing a strong disapprobation of the reception of presents by their servants, from the native powers, and requiring

them by certain covenants, drawn up in a specified form, to abstain from the practice altogether. It therefore seemed as if they had seized the short interval yet allowed them, to make ample provision against a long restraint.

Company's servants covenanted, 1765.

The attention of Clive was immediately directed to these abuses; his object being rigorous inquest as to the past, and strict prevention in future. After a severe judicial investigation, the Committee reported to the Directors the names of the delinquents, while they compelled all the Members of the service to execute the covenants prescribed; beyond this the infliction of signal punishment was forborne. Lord Clive likewise determined on correcting the irregularities occasioned by the interference of Europeans in the inland trade. He recalled from the interior of the country all Europeans not stationed there officially, but allowed the servants of the Company a qualified monopoly in the traffic of salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, which had been granted to particular merchants by the native Government. This measure was, however, cancelled by the Court of Directors in the following year.

Within two months of his arrival, Clive quitted Calcutta to join the army on the frontier, with the intention of visiting on his way the residence of the young Nabob at Moorshedebad.

The minority of the Nabob Nudjum-ud-Dowla,

the conquest of Oude, the presence of the Emperor, and Sujah Dowla in the British camp, as suppliants, concurred to form a critical period in the history of the Company. It was now for them to consider in what degree they should avail themselves of the dignities and advantages before them.

Revenues of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, granted to the Company, August, 1765.

The negotiations conducted by Lord Clive's administration, under these commanding advantages, led to the surrender on the part of the Nabob, and grant from the Mogul Emperor, of the Dewannee, or entire administration of the revenues of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, to the Company.

Since that period, 1765, these provinces have remained unmolested in possession of their Government.

The entire territory of Oude, excepting the districts of Corah, and Allahabad, was restored to Sujah Dowla.

The grant of the Dewannee, by adding to the military supremacy which the Company had previously possessed in Bengal, all the functions of the domestic administration, rendered them nearly virtually sovereigns of the realm. It was not, however, in the judgment of Clive, the true policy of the Company fully to exert their power. In the discharge of the Dewannee functions he recommended the employment of native ministers. The annual gain of the Company

(according to the computation of Clive) after the acquisition of the Dewannee, from their possessions in Bengal, was, after a due deduction for the public expenses, 1,650,000*l.*

The five northern Circars of the Deccan were ceded to the Company, on condition of their paying the Nizam a rent of about 110,000*l.*, and that they should besides furnish the Nizam with the service of a body of troops whenever it might be required for the maintenance of his Highness's Government. This cession took place the year succeeding the acquisition of the Dewannees of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

Cession of the Circars of the Deccan, 1766.

Peace being now restored, Lord Clive proceeded to effect various reforms in the system of Government. He new modelled the army, forming it into regiments and brigades, with an increased number of field-officers, and occasioned some discontent by abolishing the field allowances, or batta, which, during the war, had been advanced beyond the ordinary military pay. It should be recorded that a bequest of five lacs of rupees, or 60,000*l.*, made to him by the Nabob Meer Jaffier, before his arrival in the Indian seas, was by Clive converted into a fund for the relief of such officers and soldiers as should be invalided, or for the widows of such as had lost their lives in the service of the Company. While the officers of the army affected acquiescence in the recent regulations, a

Establishment of Military Fund by Clive.

Mutiny in the Bengal Army.

conspiracy of the most formidable nature to the interests of the Government was formed among them, it being agreed that a simultaneous resignation of Commissions should take place, on the alleged ground that the retrenchment of the batta precluded the prospect of a livelihood being earned in the military service.

Lord Clive, when he received intelligence of the mutiny, determined on irrevocable opposition to the demands of its promoters. His care was employed in procuring a supply of officers to succeed those who should resign their Commissions, and in preserving unimpaired the fidelity of the soldiery. The combination was effectually crushed, and recantation became general. Several offenders were cashiered by sentence of a court-martial; and these measures, though lenient, appear to have restored discipline to the forces of the Company. During the crisis we have just adverted to, the young Nabob, Nudjum-ud-Dowla, died, and leaving no issue was succeeded, conformably to the precedent already established, by his brother, Syef-ud-Dowla.

Clive returns to England, February, 1767.

Having accomplished the ends for which he had been appointed to his situation, and finding his health impaired by the influence of the climate, Lord Clive finally quitted India in February, 1767. During his short administration he had new modelled the constitution, both civil and

military; of the Presidency of Bengal—eradicated the disorders with which the service was infected—increased the power—consolidated the possessions—and improved the finances of the East India Company.

The revenues of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, having become the property of the Company, the idea occurred to that body, that their affairs would now admit of a large increase of their annual dividend, which had for some years stood at only six per cent. A communication, however, from the First Lord of the Treasury, apprised them, that before the close of the ensuing Session, their affairs would probably undergo the inspection of Parliament. The notice was evidently intended to operate against an increase of the dividend, but the interference of the Minister, even to this extent, in what was deemed private property, was a novelty; and the Proprietors, disdaining to be controlled by it, determined that their dividend should be raised to 10 per cent. for the year 1766-7.

In the ensuing month, the subject of the dividend was taken into deliberate consideration by the House of Commons, and the discussions which consequently arose in that assembly gradually comprehended nearly every branch of Indian affairs. On the 6th of May, 1767, the Proprietors resolved that, at the ensuing Midsummer, the dividend should be six and a quar-

ter per cent. Two days afterwards leave was given in the House of Commons, to bring in a Bill for the regulation of the Dividend on East India Stock. The Company petitioned against this Bill, as an infringement of their Charter; but made proposals for a temporary arrangement, on the ground that the public should be admitted to a participation in the benefit accruing from their territorial acquisitions, and that the dividend might be raised to twelve per cent. The Commons rejected the petition, but accepted, under certain modifications, the proposals for a temporary arrangement.

Three Acts of 7th Geo. III. passed, cc. 48, 49, 57.

In consequence of these proceedings, the three Acts of the 7th of George III., cc. 48, 49, and 57, were passed. Of these Acts, the first and second respected the subject of dividends: the second Act restrained the Company from voting, before the next Session of Parliament, a dividend of more than ten per cent. for any time subsequent to the 24th of June, 1767. This restriction, though vigorously opposed as a violation of the privileges conferred on the Company, was afterwards continued till February, 1769. By the remaining Act it was stipulated, that the Company should retain their territorial acquisitions for two years, on condition that they paid to the public, in each year, the sum of four hundred thousand pounds. No formal provision was, however, made for the renewal

of the Charter of exclusive trade, although by the former Charter Act of the 3d of George II. c. 14, the privileges of the Company were, after the 25th of March, 1766, liable to a determination, on a notice of three years. Still the notice not being in fact given, the existing privileges, as far as they were not expressly annulled, were of course prolonged.

These transactions, with the exception of some enactments of the 3d of George I., c. 14, relating to the jurisdiction of the Company over British subjects in the East, constituted the earliest interference of the Legislature in Indian affairs, subsequently to the battle of Plassey.

On the cession of the Northern Circars by the Subahdar of the Deccan to the British, the Presidency of Madras promised that Prince, whenever he should require it, the assistance of the British troops in settling the affairs of his government. The Nizam having, about the close of 1766, confederated himself with a Mahrattah Chief against Hyder Ali, the Sovereign, by usurpation, of Mysore, claimed for the fulfilment of his design the services of a British detachment. His application was granted, though no previous understanding took place, either with the Nizam or the Mahrattahs, respecting the exact objects, the conduct, or the expenses of the projected enterprise. No insurance was provided against loss, or guarantee exacted of fide-

Invasion of Mysore by the British army, 1766.

lity. Totally without preparations of this nature, the British troops joined those of the Nizam, and the united army invaded the territory of Mysore.

Hitherto the wars waged by the Company had been, in their essential nature and principle, *defensive*. Their servants, in the case before us, entered on what may be designated a war of *alliance*, into which they were drawn by the operation of an engagement imprudently contracted with a native potentate, and deeply did they suffer for their imprudence. Hyder Ali, who was distinguished by all the terrible accomplishments of an Asiatic hero, successfully exerted himself to charm away a part of the tempest with which he was threatened before it should burst. First, by dint of large bribes, he bought off the Mahrattahs: next, he entered into negotiations with the Nizam, and so effectually, that that Prince not only concluded with him a separate peace, but at length an offensive alliance, professedly directed to the extinction of the British name in the Deccan. In August, 1767, the armies of the Nizam and Hyder actually united at Bangalore, from which place they made regular incursions into the Carnatic, the immense superiority of Hyder Ali in cavalry, enabling him to maintain a predatory and vexatious warfare. But the steady vigour of Colonel Joseph Smith, the English commander,

together with a disagreement between Hyder Ali and the Nizam, united to render the former weary of his warfare, and to induce him to make overtures of peace in September, 1768, tendering, with some slight cession of territory, the payment of ten lacs of rupees.

The Madras Presidency, however, haughtily insisted on far higher terms, and the negotiation proved abortive. At the same time the Presidency, as if not satisfied with the display of incapacity they had already afforded, subjected the movements of the army to the immediate control of two Members of the Council from Madras, with the appellation of *Field Deputies*. The deputies not only interfered to a pernicious extent with the details of the military movements, but obliged Colonel Smith to reverse his whole system of operations, by acting offensively against the territory of Mysore. The plan was useless and ruinous, unless one or both of the strong cities of Bangalore, and Seringapatam could be reduced, and for a service so arduous, Colonel Smith almost destitute, through the negligence of the Government, of stores and provisions, was in no condition. The ill success of the war provoked the Government to recall, not the Deputies who were in fault, but the Commander, whose courage, intelligence, and activity, would have been their best stay in the existing state of affairs. The successors of this

officer proved still less fortunate; the army, weakened by sickness and desertion, became despondent, some inferior conquests which had been made to the southward were lost; and, in January, 1769, Hyder Ali, having recovered his own provinces, marched into the Carnatic, which he ravaged with fire and sword.

Invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder Ali, 1769.

Yet, notwithstanding the formidable attitude which the enemy had now assumed, the prospect was far from hopeless. The resources of Hyder Ali were heavily burthened, and his armies had been greatly wasted. Colonel Smith had been restored to his command in the army; and this officer not only greatly hampered the movements of the enemy's force, but by the dexterous interposition of a detachment rendered the situation of Hyder Ali somewhat critical. That Chief, however, having drawn the British forces to a considerable distance from Madras, suddenly directed his march on that Presidency, and moving one hundred and twenty miles in three days, presented himself on the contiguous mount of St. Thomé. From this point, eight miles from Fort St. George, he despatched a message to the Governor, requiring that a negotiation might be opened for peace, and that, in the meanwhile, the approach of the army under Colonel Smith might be prohibited. The Madras Government implicitly complied with his requisitions, and after some interruptions a

peace was concluded on the 4th of April, 1769, by which the parties stipulated for a mutual alliance in all but aggressive wars. Treaty of Madras with Hyder Ali, April 4, 1769.

The war with Hyder Ali had been viewed with much anxiety by the Company at home. When intelligence arrived of the reverses of 1768, this anxiety gave place, in the Court of Directors, to deep displeasure; and alarm among the Proprietors to absolute consternation, of which the consequence was that the price of India Stock fell sixty per cent.

The Directors proposed the appointment of a Special Commission, for the purpose of investigating the matters in question upon the spot. The Commissioners, in the mean time, were to exercise general powers of inspection and control over all the Presidencies of India, and to provide regulations, under the supervision of the Company, for such an administration of affairs, as should both secure correctness of conduct in the service, and consult the rights and happiness of the natives.

Messrs. Vansittart, Scrafton, and Ford were entrusted with the proposed Commission. They accordingly embarked for India, in 1769, on board His Majesty's ship Aurora. Unfortunately this frigate, after leaving the Cape of Good Hope, was never again heard of, having in all probability foundered at sea. Loss of the Aurora, 1769.

Meanwhile an Act of Parliament was passed,

by which the obligation imposed on the Company in 1767, of annually paying to the Government four hundred thousand pounds, on account of the territorial revenues, was continued for five years longer.

Sir John Lindsay appointed Plenipotentiary in India, 1769.

The Company having, at the time they nominated the Special Commission for the restoration of their affairs, solicited the presence of a squadron of ships of war in the Indian seas, Sir John Lindsay, the commander of the squadron destined for that station, received a commission, creating him Plenipotentiary Minister from the King to the Princes of India, and particularly to the Nabob of the Carnatic, who having been specially named in the Treaty of Paris, was now considered as an ally of the Crown.

Vexatious disputes took place between the Madras Government and the King's Plenipotentiary, yet the Government in England profited so little by this experiment, that Sir Robert Harland, who, in 1771, succeeded Sir John Lindsay as naval commander in chief, was invested with similar powers, and these resulted in similar contentions with the Government of Fort St. George.

Sir Robert Harland appointed Plenipotentiary, 1771.

In September, 1773, the Nabob of the Carnatic having determined on the subjugation of the Rajah of Tanjore, a petty Hindoo Chieftain, received the assistance of the Company's forces, and the capital of the Rajah was taken by the

Rajah of Tanjore taken, 1773.

allied armies; he and his family, being made prisoners. This was one of the wars of alliance into which the Company was hurried, by the rashness or interested views of their servants.

Unfortunately the Presidency of Madras was not a solitary offender at this period. The Government of Bombay advanced a claim upon the Nabob of Baroach, a dependency on the district of Surat, for some pecuniary dues which had been, as they alleged, unjustly withheld during the forty years preceding. To enforce these pretensions, a body of troops moved towards the city of Baroach, and as they did not effect the expected compliance, the reduction of the city was attempted but without success. The result was another expedition against Baroach in 1772, in the sequel of which the city was stormed, and the district subjugated. It may be proper to observe that both the expeditions against this place were strongly reprobated by the Company at home.

Capture of Baroach, 1772.

In the month of February, 1770, the Nabob Syef-ud-Dowla died. His successor was his younger brother, Mubarick-ud-Dowla, a boy of thirteen, on whom a revenue was settled of about thirty-two lacs of rupees, or 350,000*l.* sterling, but this revenue afterwards underwent a further reduction.

Death of Syef-ud-Dowla, in 1770.

It will be necessary to afford some general view of the Mogul system of Finance, otherwise

Mogul system of Finance.

the account of the successive measures of territorial economy, adopted by the British Government in Bengal, would scarcely be intelligible.

Throughout India the grand source of revenue is the land; and the principle of assessment seems originally to have been an annual division of the produce between the Sovereign, the landholder, and the successive orders of renters, sublessees, and cultivators. In Bengal, however, the rent was paid in money; and the sum consisted of two parts: the one, the original ground rent, supposed to have been fixed in the year of our era 1582; the other, a per centage on the original sum, variable from year to year.

The annual amount to be paid was settled, in the first instance, between the Government and the zemindar, or landholder.

The zemindar having made this engagement, relet his lands in portions to the several farmers; these made over their leases, entire or in part, to inferior renters, and these again underlet to a still lower class, who entered into terms with the ryots or cultivators of the soil.

Such was the general outline of the system, which tended to oppress the wretched cultivators, who had no defence but the plea of poverty, against oppression accredited by law.

On the acquisition of the Dewannee by the English, it was determined, as has before been stated, that the ostensible administration of the

land revenue should still be conducted by the native government. The system of reletting the revenue was, as we have seen, of a nature to tend to impoverish the country, and that impoverishment was increased by the necessity the Government of Bengal was under, of remitting large sums to the coast for the support of the destructive campaigns against Hyder Ali. The abuses in the inland trade, which Clive had not been able entirely to suppress, also concurred in aggrieving the native population. Such a combination of evils could not fail of producing distressing consequences. The commerce, both inland and maritime of the country, declined; the standard of the revenues could not even by dint of increased exertions, be maintained; nor can it be questioned, that by the year 1769, the internal condition of the provinces had become considerably worse than at a period twelve years earlier, when the ascendancy of the British first commenced. There was yet, however, in the national genius, and principles of the British, what might retrieve the faults, and rectify the disorders that have been described. In the year before mentioned, of 1769, the resident at the Durbar, Mr. Becher, a gentleman not more distinguished for honesty, and integrity, than for his local experience, entered into minute, and laborious investigations respecting the actual state of the country, together with the causes to

which that state was owing, and submitted a full and free representation on the subject to the Presidency of Calcutta. The Presidency, of which Mr. Verelst was the head, took the matter into very serious consideration; and the result was the adoption, towards the close of the year, of a measure from which may be dated a new æra of territorial economy.

Appointment of Supervisors of districts, 1769.

European servants of the Company were appointed to act in the districts, under the denomination of supervisors. This measure was matured by the establishment of councils of revenue at Moorshedabad, and at Patna, of which the resident presided over the former, and the Chief at Patna over the latter, and which were respectively to discharge the financial functions before vested in those two individuals.

To the native Agents this change of system was, of course, highly distasteful; and they set themselves to obstruct its operation, by impeding or embarrassing the inquiries, and misrepresenting the conduct of their new superintendants. The new system, however, had produced good effects, when an unlooked for calamity befell our Indian settlements.

Famine in Bengal, 1770.

The natives of Bengal subsist chiefly on rice, of which the ground annually produces two crops, one late in August, the other, early in December. The rice crops of December, 1768, and August, 1769, were both scanty; and that

of December, 1769, almost totally failed, from the want of heavy rains that usually fall in October.

Both the English and native Governments had early taken the alarm, and had adopted such precautions as were within their reach. In September, 1769, all the English, and their dependents, were absolutely prohibited from trading in rice; general injunctions, also, of a strict kind, were published against the hoarding of grain, and against all sales, or purchases of the article, in any other place than the public markets. A stock of rice, amounting to 60,000 maunds, was laid in for the use of the army. In all these proceedings the prime mover was Mr. Becher, the resident at the Durbar.

Notwithstanding these precautions, rice gradually rose to four, and at length to ten times its usual price; but even at that rate was not to be had. The wretched scenes that followed are painful to describe. Three millions perished of want of food in twelve months. During this season of horror, nothing was left uneffected that generous pity could suggest for the alleviation of calamities without a remedy.

Subscriptions were set on foot for the support of the poor. The Company, the Nabob, the Ministers, private Europeans, and native gentlemen of opulence, vying together in the liberality of the contributions. In Moorshedebad alone, 7000 persons were fed for several months.

To dismiss this painful subject, it may be observed, that the famine in Bengal, was a tremendous visitation of Providence, which neither human prudence could have prevented, nor human avarice have created.

Collections established, and Code of Regulations published, 1772.

In 1772, orders reached Bengal from the Court of Directors, for the Government in India to take upon itself the entire care and management of the revenues. The Government, on whom the fulfilment of those orders fell, were new in office, having been nominated only the preceding year, at which time Mr. Warren Hastings was created Governor General. The seat of the revenue business, together with the treasury, was removed from Moorshedebad, the capital of the Nabob, to Calcutta, and the whole of the fiscal and financial branch of affairs, comprehending not only the management of the collections, but many among the most important duties of municipal Government, was placed under the personal supervision of the Governor and Council, forming themselves into a distinct establishment, with native officers annexed to it, which had the title of a Board of Revenue. The detail of the collections was committed to certain officers, being covenanted servants of the Company, styled Collectors, of whom one presided over each considerable division of the provinces, having with him a native assistant under the appellation of Dewan.

Regulations were framed, and published in the native languages, abolishing several oppressive taxes, and substituting, in the conduct of the collections, simple and definite processes for those practices which had hitherto been an effectual cover for fraud. A quinquennial settlement of the revenue was adopted, the lands being farmed to the best bidder.

The chief seats of civil, and at first of criminal judicature, were likewise transferred to the British Presidency; where the two principal Mahommedan courts, being Courts of Appeal, took their station. Of these it was provided that the Sudder Dewannee court, or the Fountain of Justice, in civil concerns, should henceforth consist of the Governor and Council, assisted by native officers, learned in the law of the country. But in the principal criminal court, entitled the Sudder-Nizamut-Adawlut, the dispenser of justice was to be an officer immediately selected by the Nabob. The proceedings of this court were generally controlled by the British Government.

From each of these appellate tribunals branched forth a number of subordinate courts. In every division the civil court, named the Dewannee Adawlut, was placed under the European collector of the division, assisted by his Dewan, and other native officers. Causes, however, of property, where the value concerned did not

exceed 10 rupees, were determinable by the head farmer of the district.

At the same time the criminal court, called the Fojedarry, although subjected to general inspection on the part of the collector, was to consist exclusively of native judges. The collectors, however, were so far invested with the powers of criminal justice, that they presided over the Police under the denomination of Magistrates.

The royal speech, at the opening of the Parliamentary Session, in January, 1772, glanced at the probable occasion for interference in the concerns of the East India Company on the part of Parliament. In the succeeding March, the Deputy Chairman of the Company, being a Member of the House of Commons, brought in a Bill, of which the chief objects were to enlarge the power of the Company over their servants, to facilitate the distribution of justice in the Indo-British settlements, and to restrict the Governors, and Members of Council, from private trade. This Bill, however, was laid aside.

In the following month the House appointed a Select Committee, to inquire into the nature, state, and condition, of the East India Company, and this Committee they revived at the beginning of the next Session. While this inquiry was yet pending, the Company determined on deputing a new set of Supervisors, armed with

extraordinary powers, for the general regulation of their affairs in the East. Before this resolution, however, could be accomplished, the Parliament had again met. Another Committee (one of secrecy) was instituted by the Commons, to examine the state, and inspect the accounts of the Company. In fine, a Bill passed the House restraining the appointment, in question, of Supervisors.

The labours of the two Committees, that have been mentioned, issued in a variety of Reports, replete with information of high value. It was derived from the principal actors in the first revolutions of Bengal, and is greatly illustrative, not only of the actual situation of the Company at the time when the Parliamentary investigation took place, but also of the circumstances, under which they had originally assumed a political and military character, and of the nature and system of that government, which the British authority had superseded.

The Committees having closed their respective inquiries, the Legislature passed the Regulating Act of 1773, the first interference, properly speaking, of the national authority, in the administration of British India.

Regulating Act of 1773, passed 13th George III. c. 63.

The local Government of Bengal had hitherto been vested in a President, and Council, consisting, in addition to the Governor, of twelve or more Members, several of whom ordinarily pre-

sided at some of the out-stations in the provinces. The Act of 1773 limited the number of the counsellors, exclusive of the Governor, to four, and these were to be stationary at the Presidency. In the Governor and Council, thus constituted, was reposed the whole power, civil and military, of Fort William, with the management of all the territorial acquisitions and revenues in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The statute also conferred on the Government of Fort William, a superintending and controlling authority over the Presidencies of Madras, Bombay, and Bencoolen, especially in matters of peace, war, and negotiation with the native states of Hindostan. By subsequent Acts of Parliament, the Councils of those subordinate Presidencies have been modelled on the plan here described for that of Calcutta.

The first Governor General, and four members of Council, were nominated by the Act for five years; the Governor being Mr. Warren Hastings, the senior member in Council, Mr. Richard Barwell, and to these were added, Lieutenant-general Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Philip Francis.

It was expressly enjoined, that the Governor General and Council, should pay due obedience to the orders of the Court of Directors. The forms, and systems, at the same time, of that Court, underwent material alterations.

By the previous usage, the persons chosen Directors continued in office only for a year, but might always be re-chosen. The Act ordained, that there should be an annual election of six Directors, for the term of four years; and that the interval of a year should elapse before an ex-Director was again eligible. Before also, the possession of 500*l.* of the stock of the Company (provided it had subsisted for the six months previous to an election) entitled the holder to a vote; but the privilege of more than one vote, had not, since the establishment of the United Company, been allowed to an individual Proprietor. The qualification was now raised to 1000*l.*, the requisite time of previous possession extended to a twelvemonth, and the holders of 3000*l.*, 6000*l.*, and 10,000*l.* of stock, were respectively, invested with two, three, and four votes, which last number, however, constituted the utmost limit of individual privilege. Regulations were likewise adopted to prevent collusive transfers of stock for electioneering purposes.

The statute gave to the Crown, what it had never before formally possessed, a privity in the affairs, financial, and political, of the Company, by the requisition, that all advices transmitted from India, in those departments, should within fourteen days after their arrival, be communicated to the administration by the Court of Directors.

The encroachments made on the judicial functions of the Company constituted, perhaps, a still greater innovation than any of those already enumerated.

Establishment of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, 1773.

The old Mayor's Court at Calcutta was set aside, and the King was empowered to erect in its place a Supreme Court of Judicature, consisting of a Chief Justice and three puisne Judges, who should all be Barristers in England or Ireland, of not less than five years' standing. This Court was invested with civil, criminal, admiralty and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, over all British subjects resident in the three provinces, with the exception of the Governor General and Members of Council, unless indicted for treason or felony.

It had authority, also, in suits against persons who, not being themselves British subjects, were in the employ of British subjects or of the Company, or who should voluntarily accept of its decision.

This Act at the same time, prohibited not only to the covenanted servants of the Company, but also to all the civil and military officers of the Crown, serving in India, the reception of presents from the natives. It regulated the interference of Europeans in the internal commerce of the country, totally excluding them from the trade in those articles of prime necessity among the natives, salt, betel-nut, tobacco, and rice; and excluding from all trade whatever the Go-

vernor General, Members of Council, Judges of the Supreme Court, and collectors of the revenue. The Act farther fixed the maximum of the legal rate of interest in Bengal at 12 per cent. per annum.

In the same year which produced the Regulating Act, Parliament granted to the Company a loan of 1,400,000*l.* in exchequer bills, to become current in April, 1779, on which the Bank of England was authorised to make advances to the King. The conditions of the loan were, that the surplus of the clear revenue of the Company should be paid half-yearly into the exchequer, till the liquidation of the debt; that in the interim their annual dividend should be restrained to 6 per cent.; and that, until the reduction of their bond debt to 1,500,000*l.*, the dividend should not exceed 7 per cent. 13 Geo. III. c. 61, passed.

The following brief notices will exhibit the state of the Commerce, Territorial Revenue, and Military Force of the Company, about the year 1774.

## Exports.

The average of the Company's Exports for eight years, from 1766 to 1773, both inclusive, was—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Goods and Stores | - - | £550,393 |
| Bullion | - - | 121,239 |
| Total, per annum | - - | £671,632 |

## Imports.

The average of the prime cost of Imports from India and China, from 1770 to 1773 inclusive, was, per annum - - - £1,573,856

## Sales.

The average of amount received for Sales at home, from March 1768, to March 1773, was, per annum - - - - £3,423,397

## Shipping.

The Shipping in the Company's employ, anno 1772, stood thus:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Abroad and taken up - | 55 ships - | 39,836 tons. |
| At home, and building - | 30 — - | 22,000 — |
| Total - - | 85 — - | 61,836 — |

## Dividend.

The Company's Dividend had been, from Christmas, 1776, to Midsummer, 1772, on an average, at about 11 per cent. per annum. In the years 1772 and 1773, and some time after, it was only 6 per cent. per annum.

## Revenues and Charges.

### *Bengal.*

The net Revenues collected in the Bengal provinces, for the year ending April, 1774, were—

| | |
|---|---|
| Net Revenue - - - | £2,481,404 |
| The Civil and Military Charge. - | 1,488,435 |
| Surplus - - - | £ 992,969 |

## *Fort St. George.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| The net Revenues for the year ending April, 1774 | | | £524,762 |
| Subsidies from the Nabob of Arcot and the Rajah of Tanjore | | | 362,545 |
| | | | 887,307 |
| CHARGES, viz. | | | |
| Civil | | £51,104 | |
| Military, to be defrayed by the Nabob, &c. | £407,848 | | |
| Company | 269,266 | | |
| | | 677,114 | |
| Fortifications | | 86,774 | |
| | | | 814,992 |
| Surplus | | | 72,315 |
| Excess of payments for Nabob, &c. as above, viz. Paid | | £407,848 | |
| Received | | 362,545 | |
| | | | 45,303 |
| Total, Madras surplus | | | £117,618 |

## *Bombay.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Net Revenue for the year ending April, 1774 | | £109,163 |
| Charges | | 347,387 |
| Deficiency | | £238,224 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| BENGAL surplus | £992,969 | |
| MADRAS surplus | 117,618 | |
| Total | 1,110,587 | |
| BOMBAY Deficiency | 238,224 | |
| Total Surplus Revenue for the year ending April, 1774 | | £872,363 |

## Army.

### *Bengal, 30th September*, 1774.

European Artillery, five companies.
Cavalry, one troop.
Infantry, three regiments.
Native Infantry, 23 battalions, besides 28 companies of Invalids.
In all about 27,000 men.

### *Fort St. George in* 1772.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| European Infantry - | 3,486 | |
| Cavalry - - | 68 | |
| Artillery - - | 581 | |
| | | 4,135 |
| Sepoys - - - | | 15,840 |
| Total - - | | 19,975 |

### *Bombay, April*, 1774.

| | |
|---|---|
| Artillery - - - | 434 |
| European Infantry - | 1,620 |
| Sepoys - - - | 4,346 |
| Total, Bombay Army - - | 6,400 |
| Madras - - - | 19,975 |
| Bengal - - - | 27,000 |
| Total Indian Army, in April, 1774, abc | 53,375 men. |

It has been stated that Mr. Hastings, at the commencement of his administration in 1772, adopted various measures for the realization of the territorial revenues of Bengal. Among these were the appointment of provincial collectors, being servants of the Company; and the settlement of the lands for a period of five years. At the end of that term the returns exhibited, in remissions and irrecoverable balances, a deficit of two millions sterling, or upwards.

In 1774, the office of collector was abolished, and the functions attached to it were vested in provincial councils, each consisting of a chief and council, with native assistants.

Arrest of Lord Pigot, Governor of Madras, Aug. 24, 1776.

The proceedings of the Madras Government, in concert with the Nabob of Arcot, against the Rajah of Tanjore, led to the appointment of Lord Pigot from home as Governor of Madras. He reached Fort St. George the latter end of 1775, and succeeded in restoring the Rajah of Tanjore to the possession of his ancient dominions. The measures connected with the affairs of that kingdom, involved his Lordship in opposition to his council. He carried the suspension of two of the members by his casting vote, and put Sir Robert Fletcher, the commander of the forces, under arrest. A plot was formed by the excluded members for securing the person of the President. Colonel Stuart, who succeeded to the

command of the forces on the occasion of Sir Robert Fletcher being placed under arrest, though a private friend of the Governor's, entered into the views of the suspended counsellors. His Lordship having been persuaded by Colonel Stuart, on the 24th of August, 1776, to proceed to a villa a short distance from Madras, appropriated for the use of the Governors, and accompanied by the Colonel, was surrounded by a party of sepoys on the way, and carried as a prisoner to the Mount. The proceedings, though supported by the Bengal Government, and by many of the Directors, were strongly condemned by the majority, and the proprietors resolved, that his Lordship should be reinstated. Before the orders of the Court reached India, his Lordship had sunk under a debilitated constitution, and the effects of the violent measures in which he was involved. The proceedings became subsequently a matter of discussion in Parliament.

In December, 1776, Mr. Hastings instituted a temporary office, with a view to investigate the exact state and real value of the lands throughout the provinces, as a groundwork for any settlement which it might be thought proper to adopt. The office was committed to three of the most experienced civil servants, assisted by native agents. It, however, did not fulfil its intended object, and was therefore abolished by an order from the Court of Directors. Indeed, the Court

did not adopt any of the financial plans then transmitted to them from Bengal. Meanwhile the system of annual settlements was resumed.

In 1781, the provincial councils were withdrawn; the persons who had been the chiefs of them being continued as individual collectors, while the task of inspection, and management was, in a great measure, transferred to a committee of revenue, established at Calcutta, and composed of five civil servants, qualified for the office by their information and experience.

Such is the outline of the measures, relating to revenue, adopted under the administration of Mr. Hastings.

Proceedings of Mr. Hastings' government with regard to the administration of public justice.

The proceedings of his government, with regard to the administration of public justice, may not be irrelevant in this place. It has been before mentioned, that a civil and a criminal court were created in each district, or collectorship; from the decisions of which courts an appeal lay, in all but very trivial cases, to two superior tribunals sitting in Calcutta. The provincial civil court, or Mofussil Dewannee Adawlut, was held by the collector of revenue for the district; the superior civil court, or Sudder-Dewannee-Adawlut, by three or more members of the Calcutta council. In all these civil courts, however, the European judges were assisted by native officers. With respect to the criminal judicatories, as the imperial grant of the Dewan-

nee, to the Company, did not convey with it the criminal jurisdiction of the country, the judges were natives, appointed by the Nabob; but with a view to check the too frequent irregularities of Mussulman justice, a general control was exercised over the Fojedarry, or provincial criminal court, by the collector; over the superior criminal court, or Sudder Nizámut Adawlut, by the Governor General, and Council: the collector was also invested with the guardianship of the police.

Some changes of system were soon found requisite. The supervision of criminal justice proved so burthensome to the Governor General, that the Nizamut-Adawlut, eighteen months after the translation of that court to Calcutta, was restored to Moorshedebad. Other alterations in the judicial department necessarily followed the supersession, in 1774, of the collectorships of revenue by provincial councils. The functions of police, vested in the collector, were now committed to native magistrates, styled Fojedars; while the administration of civil justice was to be exercised by the members of the provincial council in rotation.

This plan subsisted till the year 1780, when the Government established courts of Dewannee Adawlut, distinct from the provincial councils, and furnished with a civil cognizance over all matters, excepting such as related to the public

revenue, which were permitted to remain under the jurisdiction of the council. In the same year, the avocations of the Governor General and Council having prevented their attendance in the Sudder Dewannee Adawlut, that court was placed under the superintendance of a separate judge. The person preferred to this high office was Sir Elijah Impey, chief justice of the supreme court of judicature; an appointment attended with this advantage, that the professional knowledge of the new judge enabled him to reform and methodize the practice of the Dewannee courts, according to the model, as far as it could be made applicable, of British jurisprudence.

The following year, 1781, was distinguished by the removal of the Fojedars, or native magistrates, instituted in 1774. The police jurisdiction was to reside in the judges of the Dewannee Adawlut, or where the Government should especially permit, in the zemindar. In November, 1782, the Government, by order of the Directors at home, resumed the superintendance of the Sudder Dewannee Adawlut, and that court, agreeably to the statute of the 21st George III. c. 70, was declared a court of record.

It was carefully provided by the Government of Mr. Hastings, that in all civil suits regarding inheritance, marriage, caste, and other religious usages or institutions, the laws of the Koran with

respect to Mahommedans, and those of the Shaster with respect to Gentoos, should be invariably maintained. The courts were also provided with native officers of both races, learned in the observances enjoined by their respective codes.

In the year 1784, the British Legislature decisively interfered, "to regulate the affairs of the East India Company," and of "the British possessions in India."

24th Geo. III. c. 25. Mr. Pitt's India bill, Jan. 1784.

To this end was passed the Act of the 24th George III. c. 25, which composes the groundwork of the present constitution of British India.

By this important statute, three objects were intended to be effected.

1st. The establishing a power of control in Great Britain, by which the Executive Government in India is connected with that over the rest of the Empire.

2dly. The regulating of the conduct of the Company's servants in India, in order to remedy the evils that had prevailed there.

3dly. The providing for the punishment of crimes which might reflect disgrace upon Great Britain.

The first object was thus intended to be effected:

Establishment of the Board of Control, 1784.

Six persons are to be nominated by the King, as Commissioners for the Affairs of India, of whom one of the Secretaries of State and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for the time being,

shall be two, and the President is to have the casting vote, if equally divided. New Commissioners are to be appointed at the pleasure of the Crown.

The Members of this Board of Control, are sworn to execute the several powers and trusts reposed in them, without favour, or affection, prejudice, or malice.

The Court of Directors are to deliver to this Board, for their approbation or alteration, all minutes, orders, and resolutions of themselves, and of the Court of Proprietors; and copies of all letters, orders, and instructions, proposed to be sent abroad. None to be sent until after such previous communication, on any pretence whatever. The Directors are to appoint the servants abroad, but power is given to the King, by his Secretary of State, to recal the Governors and Members of the Council, and all inferior magistrates. The Council of Bengal is subjected to the direction of the Company at home; and in all cases, except those of immediate danger and necessity, restrained from acting without orders from England.

Another object of this Act is to redress the grievances of the natives of India; to provide for the payment of the debts of the Nabob of Arcot, which are a burden upon his country; discriminating between those which were justly

incurred, and those which were forced upon him by the injustice, and extortion, of British oppressions; to ascertain the indeterminate rights and pretensions of the Rajah of Tanjore, and to deliver the zemindars, or native landowners of India, from oppression.

Reports to be forwarded to Parliament of India proceedings.

2d. A material part of this Bill is directed also against the abuses said to have prevailed in the civil and military departments; together with the suppression of such places as are found to be useless; and of such expenses as may be conveniently avoided. And in order to prevent any delusive show of retrenchment, or any future deviation, this reform is directed to be constantly submitted, in its whole state and progress, to Parliament.

System of succession by Seniority established in the Company's civil service.

A system of succession by Seniority is established by the Act, to prevent the servants of the Company from rising merely through interest, without merit; leaving however to the councils abroad the power of bringing forward (for reasons to be by them assigned) any persons of extraordinary merit or capacity. [See Stat. 33 George III. c. 52, div. 3.]

Provision for the trial of Indian delinquents.

3dly. Security having been heretofore derived to delinquents in India, from the circumstance of their offences being committed within the territories of Indian Princes, so as not to come within the cognizance of the British Govern-

ment; this Act provides against such evasions in future, by declaring the offence equally punishable in whatever territory of India it is committed. The act of receiving presents is declared to be in itself extortion, and punishable accordingly. The offences of disobeying orders, and bargaining for offices, are pronounced to be misdemeanors; and it is provided that offenders shall not compound for them with the Company, nor ever be restored to appointments in their service. Collectors and Receivers are bound by oath not to receive any private gratuity, over and above the legal tribute.

Pitt's Bill, 1784, 24th of George III. c. 25.

The Attorney-General, or Court of Directors, may exhibit an information against any person guilty of the crime of extortion, or other misdemeanors, committed in the East Indies after January 1st, 1785; which information is to be tried by Commissioners selected from both Houses of Parliament. The election of these Commissioners is regulated by statute 26th of George III. c. 57.

This important legislative enactment was the consequence of a series of parliamentary discussions, arising from the Reports of the Committees appointed to investigate Indian affairs, previous to the passing of the Regulating Act of 1773, and of Parliamentary Inquiries respecting the administration of the government of all three

Presidencies in India, to which it will be necessary to cast a retrospective view.

The expenses of the war with Hyder Ali, and the Mahrattahs, rose to such a height that the wealth and revenue of Bengal were unequal to their supply. The prosecution of the means of meeting these expenses had driven Mr. Hastings into a new war.

War of Benares, 1781.

The Rajah Bulwant Sing was tributary to Sujah Dowla, the Nabob of Oude for the country of Benares and its dependencies, at a certain tribute rent, and was protected by the fifth article of the treaty of Allahabad, concluded by Lord Clive, in the possession of his country.

In the year 1770, the death of the Rajah of Benares obliged the Presidency of Bengal to interfere in the interest of his son, Cheyt Sing, in order to secure his accession to the government of his father's territories.

In the year 1773, Mr. Hastings thought it necessary to visit the Court of Sujah Dowla, on which occasion a new instrument was signed by that Prince, confirming the rights of the Rajah of Benares. Upon the death of the Nabob Vizier in 1775, and the accession of his son and successor, Assoff-ud-Dowla, new arrangements took place between that Prince and the Company. Among others, the sovereignty of Benares was entirely given over to the Company; the Rajah of Benares then standing exactly in the same

degree of vassalage to that body as he had before stood towards the Nabob of Oude. A letter from Mr. Hastings, when newly appointed Governor General, authorised the Resident at the Court of Benares to assure the Rajah that no further tribute than that which had been formerly paid should be exacted from him by the British Government; and at the same time the Rajah was *recommended* to raise and support a body of two thousand horse.

Upon the intelligence of the war with France reaching India, it was determined by the Governor General and Council, in the month of July, 1778, that the Rajah Cheyt Sing should be required to contribute an extraordinary subsidy of five lacs of rupees during the current year; these demands, though met with a bad grace, were repeated annually. The Rajah, by Mr. Hastings's statement of the transaction, baffled the demand to keep up the two thousand cavalry by delay and evasion. The Governor General further states, that various accounts had been repeatedly transmitted to Calcutta, from different parts of the country, of the frequent and strong marks of disaffection which were shewn by the Rajah towards the British Government.

Visit of Mr. Hastings to Benares, 1781.

Such was the situation of the Rajah, and state of affairs in the country of Benares, when the Governor General left Calcutta on his progress to that city in July, 1781.

Upon the Governor General's arrival at Buxar, on the borders of Benares, he was met by the Rajah, who, in the first interview with Mr. Hastings, expressed much concern at having incurred his displeasure, and great suspicions of an individual named Oussain Sing, who had formerly been Dewan of Benares, and who now accompanied the Governor General as a member of his suite. The Rajah concluded his professions of contrition by throwing his turban in Mr. Hastings' lap, an action expressive of a complete abandonment of his power, and resources, to the British Governor.

The Rajah stated in his manifesto, (afterwards published) that the payment of no less a sum than a crore of rupees, amounting to nearly 1,200,000*l.* sterling, was demanded of him at this interview; and that to this demand was added, that of the surrender of a fortress where his family resided. On the day of their arrival at Benares, the Governor General forbade the Rajah's waiting on him, as he had intended to do, and subsequently sent Mr. Markham, the Resident at Benares, to him, with a paper drawn up by himself, containing several charges against the Rajah, to which Mr. Hastings required an immediate answer. This was sent, exculpatory of the various accusations of want of punctuality in the payment of his subsidies, and apologizing for his omitting to furnish

the body of cavalry he had been required to raise.

Mr. Hastings determined, notwithstanding this reply, to place the person of the Rajah under arrest, by way of punishing him for the neglect of the instructions he had received from the British Government. Mr. Markham, the resident, was directed to proceed with his own customary guard to the palace, where the Rajah then resided, on the banks of the Ganges, about two miles from the city of Benares, and to secure his person. Rajah Cheyt Sing arrested.

The Rajah resigned himself with the greatest submission to the arrest, assuring the Resident, that whatever the Governor General's orders might be, he would implicitly obey them. Mr. Markham took his leave, the Rajah being left in custody of Lieutenant Stalker; soon after which, large bodies of armed men were seen crossing the river, who, proceeding immediately to the palace, where the Rajah was in custody, cut to pieces the party of Sepoys forming the guard over him. Lieutenant Stalker, and two other officers lost their lives, with 82 Sepoys, and 92 were desperately wounded. The Rajah, meanwhile, was carried off by his attendants, and conveyed to a boat, in which his passage over the river was effected. Lieutenant Birrel, with a fresh company of Sepoys, lost 30 men, killed and wounded, in clearing the palace of Rescue of Cheyt Sing.

the remainder of the armed natives. It was fortunate for the Governor General, that the armed multitude who had rescued Cheyt Sing, and who were estimated at not less than 2000 men, did not attack the villa where he was then residing, protected by a guard of 60 Sepoys. Their not doing so indicates that the rescue of the Rajah was the mere act of the moment, without any previous concert, and without their being under the guidance of any enterprising leader.

The Rajah, thus liberated, seems to have wanted resolution to determine upon the course he should pursue. In such a state of uncertainty and trepidation, it was natural to a weak mind to place all hope of safety in distance from the scene of danger. He accordingly fled, in the middle of the same night, to Lutteefpoore, one of his strongest fortresses.

Neither the late catastrophe, nor the imminent danger to which he was personally exposed, produced the smallest effect upon the firmness of the Governor General. He proceeded immediately to administer the affairs, and to dispose of the government of the country, as if nothing untoward had happened, and that neither resistance nor danger were yet to be apprehended.

On the following day he appointed Oussain Sing to the administration of the revenues, and government of the country, until it should be determined to whom the Zemindary might

legally belong. This act was immediately published, by proclamation, through the city of Benares; and messengers were despatched with no less expedition to convey circular notices of the event to all the landholders throughout the country. At the same time he sent orders to Dinapore for a regiment of Sepoys to proceed from thence to Benares.

The ancient palace of Ramnagur was on the opposite side of the Ganges from that in which the Rajah had been in custody. This building, capable of some defence, was occupied shortly after the rescue of the Rajah, by one of his adherents, with an armed force. The hostile aspect of this step determined Mr. Hastings to order this place to be reduced forthwith. The rashness of Captain Mayaffre, who attacked the post with the detachment of troops he had brought from Mirzapore, without effecting a junction with the other forces, occasioned a second sanguinary reverse to the British arms, which was fatal to Captain Mayaffre himself. The whole loss of the British in this unfortunate attack, was 107 killed, and 72 wounded. The consequence of this defeat was, that war with Cheyt Sing was in effect declared; and the retreat of the Governor General from the neighbourhood of Benares, to the fortress of Chunar, became necessary for his personal safety.

Defeat at Ramnagur.

Mr. Hastings flies to Chunar.

While the Governor General had already

enough on his hands to occupy all his attention, he found himself involved in a new embarrassment. This was the approach of the Nabob Vizier, who having originally intended, as a mark of respect, if not of homage, to meet him at Benares, had left his capital of Oude for that purpose.

His arrival at this time was extremely perplexing. He was to be received, and treated as a friend, at the same time that there were strong reasons for supposing him to be in alliance with Cheyt Sing. For no sooner had the disturbances manifested themselves in Benares, than the contagion spread itself through all the countries under his government. And it was particularly observable that it raged in none more than in those which were under the influence of the princesses, his mother and grandmother, who were distinguished under the appellation of the Begums of Oude.

These princesses openly encouraged the cause of Cheyt Sing, and not only publicly invited men to enter his service, but suffered their own immediate servants to join in attacking the English troops. Their example and influence corresponding with the disposition of the people, produced such instantaneous effects, that not only the city of Fyzábad, where they resided, and the adjoining country, but those extensive territories which extended to the feet of the northern moun-

tains, were every where in arms, and declared hostility to the Company. Lieutenant Colonel Hannay, with two battalions of regular Sepoys, which he commanded in the Nabob's service, had the charge of Fyzabad, and the countries in that quarter.

These troops were repeatedly attacked, surrounded, and many of them cut to pieces, their commander narrowly escaping the same fate.

The Governor General received repeated intimations cautioning him to guard against private treachery; and he was particularly warned, not to allow the Nabob's visit, without having round him so strong a guard, as to ensure the security of his person. He therefore endeavoured, by letter, to dissuade the Nabob from the farther prosecution of his journey, requesting that he would return to Lucknow, and there wait his own arrival, for the ceremony of an interview, which would take place as soon as the present disturbances would afford leisure for that purpose. The Nabob, however, who was sincere in his expression of good will to the Governor General, disregarded his request to defer his visit.

In the meantime the commotion in Benares operated as a signal to all the adjoining countries, and the flame seemed spreading on every side. Independent of the dominions of Oude, a great part of the Company's own province of

Behar was convulsed in a great degree. Many of the landholders there not only shewed the strongest symptoms of disaffection, but things were carried to such an extreme, that levies of men were openly made there for the rebellious Rajah.

About this time Cheyt Sing published a manifesto, addressed to the Rajahs and native Princes of India. In this manifesto he recapitulates the causes which led to his present situation, and calls upon his fellow Princes to join in chasing away those rapacious strangers, who were the authors of such numberless calamities to their common country.

The fortress of Chunar, which now afforded a secure asylum to the Governor General, is situated on the southern shore of the river Ganges. At this point different bodies of the Company's troops received orders to concentrate themselves, and Major Popham, the British commander, soon found himself at the head of a respectable force.

It was at first intended to attack the post of Ramnagur near Benares, the scene of the last reverse of the English, but the military operations were eventually directed against the town of Pateetah, where the forces of the Rajah were assembling. That place was taken by storm on the 20th of September by Major Roberts; and a division of the enemy being the same day de-

Storm of Pateetah, Sept. 20, 1781.

feated by the force under Major Crabbe at Lora, the fugitives from both scenes of action arrived at Lutteefpoore, the Rajah's head-quarters, at the same moment, and occasioned so great an alarm, that the Rajah thought of nothing but escape, and fled towards Bidjeygur, the only place of refuge now left to him.

The many thousands of the volunteers who had flocked to join the army of the Rajah, now returned as fast as possible to their respective homes. Ramnagur, and the fort of Sutteessgur were both abandoned the same evening, and a full submission to the Company was every where established.

The Nabob Vizier returned to his own country, while the Governor General repaired first to Ramnagur, and afterwards to the city of Benares, which now bore its usual appearance of tranquillity.

The Rajah Cheyt Sing was deposed by authority of the Governor General, and a treaty was made with the successor, a grandson of the late Rajah, by which an accession to the revenue of the Company of 200,000*l.* a year was secured. The spoil taken by the army, was seized, and divided among the troops.

The fortress of Bidjeygur, to which the Rajah had retreated as a last point of refuge, was now reduced by the force under Major Popham. The Rajah effected his escape, leaving about 300,000*l.*

Capture of Bidjeygur, Nov. 10, 1781.

of treasure behind him. Thus terminated the war of Benares.

The spoil of the Rajah of Benares having failed to afford the expected supply, needful for replenishing the treasury of Calcutta, Mr. Hastings made an agreement with the Nabob Vizier, which relieved the latter from the expense of a subsidiary force, which he had been heretofore bound to maintain, on condition of his immediately paying a large sum of money. The full understanding was, that this should be drawn from the coffers of the Begums, two aged ladies above mentioned, the reigning Nabob's mother and grandmother, to whom his father, Sujah Dowla, had left the greater part of his accumulated wealth. After long delays, and evasions, a promise was extracted from them to pay a sum equal to half a million sterling; which however, when paid, did not amount to the sum expected.

Mr. Hastings soon after returned to Calcutta, and in Feb. 1785, embarked for England, after an administration of thirteen years. During that period the revenue had been somewhat increased, but the debt had been augmented in a greater proportion. This, however, had resulted from the wars in which the Company had been engaged, particularly that with Hyder, to which the Governor General could scarcely be considered a party.

Hastings arrives in England, 1785.

On arriving in England, Mr. Hastings found a most violent clamour against him. Mr. Fran-

cis, who, in India, had been his constant and unyielding opponent, had reached Britain before him, and communicated the most unfavourable impressions respecting him. The cause was embraced with enthusiastic zeal by Burke, perhaps the greatest orator of that day. He commenced a series of motions, impeaching the conduct of Hastings, and was powerfully seconded by Sheridan; while Pitt, who at first successfully turned them aside, at length gave them his entire concurrence. The House of Commons then determined to present to the Lords a bill of impeachment against the late Governor General of India; a measure which excited the deepest interest throughout the nation. This celebrated trial commenced on the 13th of February, 1788, before a numerous auditory, which included a great part of the Royal Family. Burke opened the charge by a speech that lasted four days, in which he represented the conduct of Mr. Hastings as a compound of treachery and cruelty, disgraceful to the British name, and almost without a parallel in the annals of history. The numerous charges, however, upon which the impeachment was founded, the complexity of the evidence, and the remote quarter whence witnesses were to be brought, protracted the trial to an extraordinary length.

Warren Hastings commenced, Feb. 13, 1788.

Seven years rolled on, during which the public mind underwent a remarkable change. The

warmth of feeling against the real, or supposed enormities of the accused gradually subsided, and no small degree of pity was felt for an individual so eminent, who with nothing yet proved against him, had been doomed not only to endure a heavy load of reproach, but to pass through so long a period of impeachment. If he had not been cleared of blame, it was evident that the magnitude of his offences had been considerably exaggerated. In short, the interest taken in the transaction languished; and when the decision took place, on the 17th of April, 1795, the sentence of "Not Guilty," upon the first charge, was carried in a very thin house, by a majority of 24 to 6; and upon all the others by majorities not materially different.

Trial of Warren Hastings concluded, April 17, 1795.

The Company after having projected something still more liberal, granted him a pension of 4000*l.* a year for twenty-eight years and a half, and a loan without interest, for eighteen years, of 50,000*l.* to defray the expenses of the trial.

The attention of the reader is now called to the progress of events in the Peninsula, where the Madras forces were contending not only with the usurper of Mysore, Hyder Ali, but with the French power in the south.

The treaty has been already recorded which was concluded at Madras, in April, 1769, between Hyder Ali, then within eight miles of Fort St.

George, and the Madras Government. Hyder had then solicited an alliance offensive and defensive; the English granted only the last, which, however, was found to involve them in all the responsibility, that, by refusing the first, they had sought to escape.

Hyder having terminated his contest with the British with advantage, was now in turn forced to defend himself against the Mahrattahs who entered his dominions in great force. Hyder determined on making a stand, and intrenched his army in a very strong position, covered by a range of mountains. The Mahrattah General commanded this position so effectually, that Hyder Ali determined on falling back upon his capital. He accordingly began his march early in the night, hoping before morning to be beyond reach of his enemy, but the Mahrattah horse pursued him closely. Hyder had contracted habits of evening inebriety, which rendered him often unfit for command. Having, when inebriated, met his son Tippoo, he assailed him with reproaches, and seizing a thick cane struck his son with it. The young prince went to the head of his division, dashed his turban to the ground, and exclaimed, My father may fight his own battle, for I swear by Alla and his prophet, that I draw no sword to day. The army fell back in confusion upon Seringapatam, which city was vainly besieged by the Mahrattahs; Hyder con-

stantly annoyed them, and cutting off their resources by attacks on their rear, finally compelled them, after a warfare of a year and a half, to accept of his terms, namely, the cession on his part of some of his northern dominions, and the immediate payment of fifteen lacs of rupees, and fifteen *hereafter*. The English, during this war, did not fulfil their engagement to aid the Mysorean Chief in the defence of his dominions.

War with France, 1778.

When the war, consequent upon the contest between Great Britain and America, broke out with France, the French Authorities in India immediately opened a communication with Hyder, which was so successful as to determine him to that course of hostility to the English, which eventually ended in the downfall of his house and empire, by the capture of Seringapatam, in 1799. Thus did the separation of Great Britain, from her American Colonies, virtually lead to the extension of her East Indian possessions.

As soon as hostilities commenced with France, the English Government formed a comprehensive plan for the reduction of all the French possessions in India. Pondicherry soon fell. When, however, Hyder Ali was informed of their projective attack upon Mahé, on the Malabar coast, he decidedly objected to it, urging that the territory around it having been conquered by him, was now included in his dominions. The British,

however, sent an expedition which very soon reduced the place, and Hyder's resentment at this step was probably the cause of the rooted enmity which he ever after displayed against England.

Early in June, 1780, Hyder Ali quitted Seringapatam, and took the command of as fine an army as had ever taken the field in Southern India. It consisted in all of 83,000 men, besides 2000 rocket men, 5000 pioneers, and 400 Europeans. In the middle of July he marched through the pass of Changama, and began an unresisted career in the Carnatic, which he covered with the most dreadful devastation.

As soon as the first alarm of the Madras Government had subsided, they began to consider the means of resistance. Their first object was to secure different strong places now held by the troops of the Nabob, their next to unite into one strong army the different detachments spread over the country; the most numerous and best equipped being under Colonel Baillie, who had advanced considerably into the interior with a view to offensive operations. This unfortunate movement exposed his detachment to the enterprise of the Mysorean Chief, who succeeded in cutting it off, and capturing 200 Europeans, who were confined in the fortress of Seringapatam.

Capture of Col. Baillie's detachment, 1780

The intelligence of this signal disaster being conveyed to Calcutta, Mr. Hastings immediately took the most active steps to repair it. Sir Eyre

Coote, a veteran officer of the highest military reputation was sent to take the command of the Madras army. The governor of Madras was suspended from his functions, and the funds for the prosecution of the war placed at the disposal of the new Commander-in-Chief. Sir Eyre Coote took the field at the head of 7000 men, and after being much harassed by the enemy's cavalry, he defeated his antagonist near Cuddalore, Hyder saving his own person by flight. A series of encounters followed, in which both parties claimed the advantage.

War with Holland, 1781.

Hostilities having commenced between the English and Dutch, Lord Macartney, the new governor of Madras, formed the project of the reduction of Negapatam. It was successful, and all the remaining Dutch settlements on the coast fell with it, while the important naval station of Trincomallee, in the island of Ceylon, was likewise wrested from them. Meanwhile Colonel Braithwaite's detachment of 2000 men was enclosed by an army of ten times his number, and were after an obstinate conflict obliged to surrender.

Notwithstanding this triumph, Hyder felt deep anxiety as to his future prospects. He learned that through the indefatigable exertions made by Mr. Hastings in Bengal, the Mahrattah Government had withdrawn from his alliance. At the same time a detachment of his troops which

had been sent to beseige Tellicherry on the Malabar coast, were beaten, and compelled to surrender to a force from Bombay. Hyder was so much depressed by these unfavourable circumstances, that he had even formed the design of evacuating the Carnatic, when tidings reached him of a strong body of French troops having arrived on the coast. This was no unfounded report, and accordingly on the 10th of March, they were landed to the amount of 3000. Cuddalore was now retaken.

After the repulse of the enemy from Tellicherry, Colonel Humberstone landed on the Malabar coast, with an additional force from Bombay, which rendered the British masters of the field in that quarter.

Death of Hyder Ali, December 7, 1782.

Hyder Ali's health had for some time been on the decline. He expired on the 7th of December, 1782, at an age not precisely ascertained, but believed to have exceeded eighty. Without the first elements of education, unable to read, or write, he made his way to the throne of a mighty kingdom, the affairs of which he administered with brilliant talent, and profound political sagacity. The instant that Hyder expired, his faithful ministers despatched notice to his eldest son, which reached him in four days.

Accession of Tippoo.

Tippoo was received, and recognized by the army as their commander, and the lawful sovereign of Mysore. He had now at his disposal

88,000 troops, and a treasure amounting to three thousand millions sterling besides jewels, and other precious effects.

Naval battles between Hughes and Suffrein.

During the war with Hyder Ali, those naval conflicts took place between Admirals Sir Edward Hughes, and Suffrein, which form so striking a feature in the annals of maritime warfare; they terminated in the battle fought off Cuddalore, on the 20th of June, 1782, which was followed by the announcement of the cessation of hostilities between Great Britain and France.

Peace between England and France, 1782.

Near the western coast, meanwhile, General Matthews made himself master of the city of Bednore, and Tippoo was himself engaged in the siege of Mangalore, when the news of the peace between England and France arrived. The French officers having withdrawn their forces from him, Tippoo agreed to an armistice which was to extend over the whole coast of Malabar.

Peace with Tippoo, 1782.

At length a treaty was concluded between Tippoo and the English Government, founded upon the basis that each party should retain its former possessions, and that prisoners on either side should be released.

Arrival of Marquis Cornwallis in India, 1786.

The Marquis Cornwallis arrived in India in 1786, as Governor General, and his intentions seem to have been to effect a complete reform in the system of Indian policy. To avoid by every possible means war with the native powers, was

one of his leading instructions. He began by proclaiming, in a manner that has been censured as too full, and undisguised, his determination to engage in no hostilities not strictly defensive. Yet his views very early underwent a change, and he began to conceive it highly expedient to engage in a protracted warfare, with the view of completely humbling the power of Mysore. The views of the Marquis were soon developed by a treaty formed with the Nizam. Hatred and fear of Tippoo had, at this time, overcome all other considerations with that Prince, who agreed to assist the British arms in any future rupture with the Sultan. The Mahrattah government likewise agreed to join the confederation against Tippoo, whose recent attack on the Travancore kingdom afforded an opportunity for the declaration of war.

War with Tippoo, 1790.

Tippoo seems not to have been prepared for the prompt hostilities of the English. In June, 1790, they commenced the campaign on the boldest system of offensive warfare; their aim being nothing less than to ascend the Ghauts from the south, and advance upon Seringapatam. This plan of campaign was unsuccessful; and Tippoo, after menacing Trinchinopoly, swept the Carnatic with his cavalry, with nearly as little opposition as his father had experienced. On approaching Pondicherry he endeavoured to open a negotiation with the French, but without success.

Lord Cornwallis now determined to resume his original design of directing the course of the war in person; and having arrived at Madras, on the 29th of January, 1791, he took the command of the army, resolving to penetrate the interior of Mysore by the northern route, through which he could establish a line of operation with Madras. The first place of consequence laid siege to by the English army, was Bangalore; the army appeared before that city on the 5th March, 1791, and on the night of the 21st it was carried by storm.

Bangalore carried by storm, March, 21st, 1791.

Lord Cornwallis now advanced upon Seringapatam, before which capital the Sultan had drawn up his army on the banks of the river Cavery, determined to hazard a general battle, rather than that Seringapatam should be invested. The Governor General by a night movement, placed himself on the enemy's left flank, but Tippoo with great promptitude had anticipated the object of his opponent by occupying a succession of hills in front of his position, from the possession of which he derived a great advantage. A battle ensued of long continuance, and maintained with great obstinacy. On coming to close combat, the English, by successive charges, carried one point after another, till the whole of the army of the Sultan was obliged to seek shelter under the fortifications of Seringapatam.

Battle of Seringapatam, May 15, 1791.

Though Madras was the centre of the English

operations, yet the war had extended to the coast of Malabar, where Colonel Hartley held the command with a force numerically small, but aided by the zealous co-operation of the natives who had been thoroughly alienated by the violence of Tippoo. This enmity towards the Sultan, rendered it impossible for his troops to carry on the desultory warfare in which they excelled; they were therefore obliged to fight a regular battle, and were completely defeated. Soon after, in December 1790, General Abercrombie landed with a large force, reduced Cananor, and easily made himself master of every place held by the enemy in Malabar. He was in full march to join Lord Cornwallis, when he received orders from his Lordship to retreat

General Abercrombie lands on the Malabar Coast, Dec. 1790.

Cornwallis was now retiring upon Bangalore, for want of provisions, when he was joined by the Mahrattah Chiefs, Purseram Bhow, and Hurry Punt, who after a tedious siege of six months, had reduced the strong fortress of Darwar, which had been carefully garrisoned by Tippoo.

Had Lord Cornwallis been aware that this force of cavalry was coming to his aid, he would probably have exerted himself to maintain his ground before Seringapatam, but the activity of Tippoo's light troops completely intercepted the intelligence. As soon as these auxiliaries arrived, the scarcity before existing in the cantonments of the English ceased. Every article abounded in

that predatory host; it exhibited the spoils of the East, and the industry of the West, from a web of English broad cloth, to a Birmingham pen-knife.

Although the army was thus relieved from the immediate pressure of distress, Lord Cornwallis did not conceive it possible to advance again upon Seringapatam, till the arrival of a more favourable season, and till a fresh battering train, and other extensive supplies should be forwarded from Madras. In the mean time the troops were employed in the reduction of some of the Droogs, or precipitous rocks which rise as natural fortresses, in this, as well as in other of the elevated plains of India.

Cornwallis began his second campaign in February, 1792, ordering the army of General Abercrombie, consisting of 8,400 men, to advance upon Seringapatam. His own force amounted to 22,000, and by proceeding in three lines, instead of one, with his ordnance, and heavy baggage in the centre, his infantry, and light troops upon the flanks, he avoided much of the annoyance hitherto experienced from the attacks of an active enemy.

On the 5th of February, 1792, the English army having reached a range of heights, discovered the Mysorean capital, in front of which Tippoo with his whole force, consisting of between 40,000 and 50,000 infantry, and 5,000

cavalry; appeared strongly intrenched. His encampment was exceedingly strong, covered in front by a thick bamboo hedge, and by a small river and a canal, while the actual position of his army was secured in front by a fortified hill, and a chain of redoubts, and its rear by the works of the city, and island, which at the same time afforded a secure retreat. His situation was such as in the opinion of many precluded every idea of attack. Lord Cornwallis, however, considered that while his movements were delayed, this intrenchment would be continually strengthened by new works, and that his own situation, amidst a hostile country and allies so little to be trusted, would become always more difficult and precarious. He determined therefore to make an immediate, and general attack.

Attack of Tippoo's position before Seringapatam, February, 1792.

The troops to be employed in this service were divided into three columns, under General Medows, Colonels Stuart, and Maxwell; the commander with the reserve following close behind. The whole under a bright moon, began to move at eight in the evening. The force experienced, to a considerable extent, the casualties, and dangers of a nocturnal attack. The divisions of Colonels Stuart, and Maxwell were once on the point of charging each other with the bayonet. Lord Cornwallis having entered the boundary hedge, and searching in vain for General Medows, was attacked by a greatly

superior force, against which he with difficulty maintained his ground. The British troops, however, when regularly brought to bear upon the enemy, carried all before them. Tippoo, during the early part of the engagement, occupied a strong redoubt on the river, where he took his evening meal; but on seeing the English divisions advance to the ford, he felt alarm as to his communication with the city, and hastened to cross it before them. He had several of his attendants killed before he could reach a detached work in an angle of the fort, where he took a fresh station. But morning soon dawned, and discovered the British army fully established on the island before Seringapatam, and facing the fortress without any interposing barrier. The Sultan lost, it is said, no less than 23,000 men, chiefly in consequence of the dispersion of multitudes in the confusion, who returned to their homes. The loss of the British army amounted only to 500 in killed, and wounded.

Tippoo, on discovering the extent of his disaster, made the most vigorous efforts to retrieve it. By the advice of Poornea, his treasurer, he announced that two lacs of rupees would be distributed among the troops, as the most effectual mode of alluring back the fugitives. He urged his soldiers to recover, if possible, the positions in which the British were not fully established;

and several of their attacks, being supported by the artillery of the fort, were very formidable, but they were all finally baffled by the British force.

It was no longer possible for the Sultan to conceal from himself, that his crown and kingdom were in the greatest peril, and indeed that a peace, dictated by his enemies, could alone save them. The English force under Cornwallis had singly defeated his army, and besieged his capital, and that force was now about to be joined by the corps under General Abercrombie, by another from the south, and by the Mahrattahs. He accordingly determined to seek peace upon any conditions. Two English officers, Lieutenants Chalmers, and Nash, who had been taken at Coimbetoor, and made prisoners contrary to the terms of capitulation, were still detained at Seringapatam. They were sent for, and the first was asked if he were not an officer of rank, and a near relation of Lord Cornwallis. Notwithstanding his reply in the negative, he was released, and desired to convey to that Commander the Sultan's earnest desire for peace, and the proposal to send an envoy to treat for it. His Lordship's answer, though it expressed deep dissatisfaction at the treatment of the prisoners, contained an acceptance of this overture. An officer of distinction, Gholaum Ali, arrived in the camp, and several days were busily spent in negotiations, to which the allies,

though they had been so entirely useless, were admitted on equal terms. The following was at length fixed as the ultimatum to be delivered to Tippoo.

Treaty of Seringapatam, Feb. 1792.

The surrender of half his dominions, taken from districts contiguous to the territory of the allies; the payment of three crores and thirty lacs of rupees, (about 4,000,000*l.* sterling); and the delivery of his two sons as hostages. Hard as these conditions were, they were powerfully enforced by events which had occurred in the course of the negotiation. On the night of the 18th of February, while the attention of the enemy was attracted to the south side of the fort by the operations of a flying corps, the trenches were opened on the north side, with such silence and caution, that though the fort was kept blazing with blue lights for the purpose of observation, morning had arrived before Tippoo discovered that this attack, so fatal to him, had commenced. A nullah, or ravine had been converted into a wide, and extensive parallel, where the assailants were placed so fully under cover as to render ineffectual any endeavour to interrupt their operations. This parallel was carried on and improved till the 21st, when it was completed, and in the night the line was marked out for a second. This was finished on the 23d, and the ground was fixed for the breaching batteries about 500 yards from the fort, in so advantageous

a position, as to leave no doubt of a practicable breach being speedily effected.

That night Tippoo sent off, signed and sealed, the conditions transmitted to him by Lord Cornwallis. Early in the morning, orders were sent to the English troops to cease from their labour in the trenches, and to forbear farther hostilities. The injunction was received with a deep feeling of disappointment. Their enthusiasm had been raised to the highest pitch ; they had cherished the hope of scaling the walls of Seringapatam, and rescuing their countrymen immured in its dungeons. The Commander-in-chief, however, issued very judicious general orders, in which he exhorted them to display moderation in their present success, and to avoid any insult to their humbled adversary.

An interesting scene occurred in the fulfilment of that article of the treaty which related to the delivery of the two sons of Tippoo as hostages.

In consequence of the deep distress which was understood to prevail in the palace, a day's delay was granted. Tents having been sent from the fort and erected for their accommodation, the General offered to wait on them, but Tippoo wrote that it was his particular wish that they should be brought to his Lordship's tent, and delivered into his own hands.

They accordingly left the fort in the forenoon of the 28th, the walls being crowded with spec-

tators, among whom was the Sultan himself. They rode upon elephants richly caparisoned, dressed in white muslin robes, having round their necks several rows of large pearls, intermixed with valuable jewels. The Marquis received them at the door, and taking their hands in his, led them into his tent. The chief vakeel then said, "These children were this morning the sons of the Sultan my master; their situation is now changed, and they must look up to your Lordship as a father." Their reception was in fact truly paternal: they were soon relieved from all apprehension; and though only eight and ten years of age, yet having been trained with infinite care in every thing at least relating to personal behaviour, they astonished all present by the dignity and ease of their deportment, and by that union of politeness and reserve which characterises oriental courts.

After the hostages had been delivered, and a crore of rupees paid, a serious difficulty arose. The treaty stipulated the surrender of one half of Tippoo's dominions, where they bordered on those of the allies; but there was no specification of the actual territories to be ceded; a point so essential, that it ought to have preceded the execution of any of the articles. The ceded districts were to be rated according to the revenues which they yielded Tippoo presented statements by which the produce of those contiguous to the

possessions of the allies were grossly exaggerated, and the others underrated; while the Nizam and Purseram Bhow, the Mahrattah chiefs were not slow to err on the opposite side, and hence the discrepancy became enormous. Meantime reports were spread of suspicious conduct on the part of Tippoo, and in particular that, contrary to treaty, he was actively strengthening the fortifications of Seringapatam. When remonstrated with on this subject, he replied that, if they thought proper, he would throw down a bastion, and let the English see into the fort; an answer so wild, and extravagant, that it tended little to dispel apprehension.

At length, Tippoo's vakeels produced documents which were judged to be authentic, and whence it appeared that the entire revenue of their master's dominions did not exceed 2,960,000*l*. Each of the allies then picked out what best suited him: the Mahrattahs extended their frontier to the Toombudra; the Nizam carried his beyond the Pennar.

The English took their share in detached portions: on the east the frontier territory of Baramahl; in the south, Dindigul; on the west a great extent of the disputed coast of Malabar, including Tellicherry, and Calicut. No objection was made, till it was observed that this last section included Coorg,—long the subject of much deadly contest. On seeing this condition

the Sultan burst into a paroxysm of rage.—"To which of their territories," said he, "is Coorg adjacent? Why do they not ask me at once for Seringapatam? They know that I would sooner have died in the breach than have made such cession, and dare not have brought it forward had they not treacherously obtained my children, and my treasure."

Upon this refusal, all was again in movement. The princes were separated from their native attendants, and arrangements entered into for despatching them into the Carnatic, under an English escort. In less than two days, however, Tippoo again felt the necessity which pressed upon him, and sent notice that the demand was acceded to. A considerable delay still intervened; but on the 18th of March, 1792, the definitive treaty was transmitted to the young princes, that by their hands it might be delivered. At ten in the morning of the 19th they waited on Lord Cornwallis, and the eldest presented to him all the three copies of the treaty; but as the vakeels of the two allied chiefs, who did not choose to appear in person, soon after entered, his Lordship returned their copies, which the boy delivered in a manly, though evidently less cordial manner; and on hearing something muttered by the Mahrattah envoy, asked what he grumbled at? hastily adding, that they might well be silent, as certainly their masters had no reason to be displeased.

Conclusion of the treaty of Seringapatam, Mar. 18, 1792.

General Dirom estimates, that after deducting the Company's share of the sum exacted from Tippoo, the extraordinary expenses of this war would scarcely amount to two millions sterling. Every department had been conducted with the strictest economy. Instead of the large grants that had been bestowed on individuals from the conquest of Bengal, the prize money in these campaigns amounted only to 93,584*l.* which, after Cornwallis, and Medows, had given up their shares, and the Company had added a large quantity, only allowed to a Colonel 1161*l.* 12*s.* and to a private soldier 14*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.*

The losses sustained by the Sultan during the period of hostility are estimated, by the same author, at 49,340 men, 67 forts, and 801 guns. This celebrated treaty has been the subject of much controversy; nor do the views which influenced Lord Cornwallis seem ever to have been fully understood. It appears to have effected either too little, or too much. The cessions extorted were such as to preclude all hope of future friendship; for they inevitably created in the mind of a proud, ambitious, and restless Prince, a feeling of deadly enmity, as well as an incessant desire to retrieve his lost greatness, while they left him a degree of power which might easily become formidable in the hands of such an enemy.

Having thus given a rapid sketch of the war

Reforms in the civil affairs of the Company effected by Lord Cornwallis.

in Mysore during the administration of Marquis Cornwallis, it is time to turn our attention to the reforms in the civil affairs of the Company effected by that Nobleman. By the 29th Section of the Act of 1784, the Company were required to investigate the truth of certain complaints which had prevailed, of oppressions inflicted on divers Rajahs, zemindars, polygars and other land-owners in British India; to redress such grievances if they existed; and to establish upon principles of moderation and justice, according to the laws and constitution of India, permanent rules for the future collection of the territorial revenues. To the important objects comprised in this requisition, the attention both of the Court of Directors, and the Board of Control was earnestly directed; and in 1786 Marquis Cornwallis accordingly commenced his labours for this purpose.

The first alteration of importance, effected by him, was the re-union of the functions of civil justice, and criminal police with those of financial arrangement, in the person of the collector, by creating him both the magistrate and the judge of the provincial civil court, or Mofussil Dewannee Adawlut. This measure was adopted in 1787, and was in fact strictly conformable to the instructions of the Court of Directors, and Board of Control, who, in prescribing it, professed themselves to be guided, rather by a reference

to the subsisting manners, and usages of the Indian people, than by abstract principles, derived from countries very differently circumstanced. Meantime, the proper court of the collector, as Judge of Revenue Causes remained separate from the Dewannee Court, over which he now presided; and while an appeal lay from his decisions in the latter court to the Sudder Dewannee Adawlut, the appeal from those in the former could only be made to the Committee, or as it is now called the Board of Revenue at Calcutta. In the cities, however, of Moorshedebad, Vacca, and Patna, the judge and magistrate was not invested with a judicial capacity. The jurisdiction of these officers was circumscribed by the limits of the cities in which they respectively acted; and within a city there could be no need of a collector.

About the close of 1790, the Government of Lord Cornwallis prevailed on the Nabob of Bengal to surrender into the hands of the Company the superintendence of criminal justice throughout the provinces. The inveterate, and pernicious abuses prevalent in the native judicatories form an ample vindication of this measure; on which, however, the British Government embarked with great reluctance, from their wish to spare, if possible, the only remaining prerogative of the Nabob. The Nizamut Adawlut was now finally removed to Calcutta, and its judicial functions were lodged

Court of Nizamut Adawlut removed to Calcutta, 1790.

in the Governor General and Council, assisted by native assessors.

Courts of Circuit instituted.

Four Courts of Circuit were at the same time instituted, the Judges being civil servants of the Company, with native assistants, for the trial and punishment of offences not cognizable by the Magistrates; but under the obligation of reporting their sentences in capital cases, for the confirmation of the Nizamut Adawlut.

Meanwhile the system of civil justice underwent no material alteration. But in 1793, Lord Cornwallis, deeming the mixture of the financial and judicial characters in the same persons incongruous, annulled, with the exception of certain peculiar and very inconsiderable cases, all the judicial powers of every kind previously enjoyed by the collectors, and also the appellate jurisdiction of the Board of Revenue. New courts for the different cities and districts were instituted, under the superintendance of individual civil servants, being of higher official rank than the collectors, who combined in themselves the functions of civil judge and magistrate. Provincial courts of appeal were at the same time appointed, consisting of three judges each; and from these courts, again, an appeal was granted in causes of a certain importance, to the Sudder Dewannee Adawlut at Calcutta. All these courts, original and appellate, were provided with systematic establishments of native officers, both

Judicial powers of Collectors rescinded, 1793

Civil servants appointed to districts as Judges and Magistrates.

Mussulman and Hindoo; and provision was made for the regular appointment of native pleaders or advocates, by the Sudder Dewannee Adawlut.

These measures were connected with a radical and memorable change in the financial system. The amount of the territorial revenues, to be yielded by the three Provinces, was settled in perpetuity, on an average moderately taken, of the past collections. A default of payment was to be supplied by a proportionate sale of land. The rights of the landholder, and at the same time of the inferior renter or ryot, were defined with precision; the landholder being exempted from oppression on one hand, and restrained from it on the other; for as he was himself subject to no other means of control than the terror of an attachment, and sale of his land, so he could recover his own dues from the renter only by means of a legal process.

Such were the systems of domestic administration of the judicial and revenue departments introduced by Marquis Cornwallis.

In the year 1793, an Act of Parliament was passed, for placing the stock called East India Annuities, under the management of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, and ingrafting the same on the three per cent. reduced annuities, in redemption of a debt of four millions two hundred thousand pounds, owing

33 Geo. III. c. 47, passed.

by the public to the East India Company, and for enabling the said Company to raise a sum of money by a further increase of their capital stock, to be applied in the discharge of certain debts of the said Company.

33 Geo. III. c. 52, passed.

In the same year, an Act was passed for continuing in the East India Company, for a further term of twenty years, the possession of the British territories in India, together with their exclusive trade, under certain limitations, &c.

This Act provides for the continuation of the Board of Control in all its parts, except that the person first named in the King's commission is to be President, and instead of the Commissioners being limited to six privy counsellors, the number is indefinite, resting in the King's pleasure; of which, however, the two principal Secretaries of State, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, are to be three; and his Majesty may, if he pleases, add to the list two Commissioners, not of the privy council. The King may give 5000*l.* per annum among such of the Commissioners as he pleases, which together with the salary of the secretary, and officers, and other expenses of the Board, are to be paid by the East India Company.

Oaths are prescribed for the Commissioners and their officers.

Three Commissioners must be present to form a board.

The powers of the Board are in substance the same as under former Acts of Parliament. (See Pitt's bill of 1784.)

The Directors are to appoint three of their members to compose a Committee of Secrecy, through whom, despatches relating to government, war, peace, or treaties, may be sent to, and received from India. This Committee, and their clerks to be sworn to secrecy.

Orders of the Court of Directors concerning the government, or revenues of India, once approved by the Board, are not subject to revocation by the general court of proprietors. The forms of government over the Presidencies of Bengal, Fort St. George, and Bombay, are continued in all their essential parts. The Court of Directors is to appoint to these several governments; namely, the Governor General, the two other Governors, and the members of all the councils; and likewise the commander-in-chief of all the forces, and the provincial commanders-in-chief. None of the latter are ex-officio to be of the council, but they are not disqualified from being so, if the Court of Directors shall appoint them; and when they are members of the council, they shall take precedence of the civil members of it. The civil members of council are to be appointed from the list of civil servants who have resided twelve years in India. Any vacancy of governor-general, or governor, when no

33 Geo. III. c. 32.

provisional successor is on the spot, is to be filled by the senior of the civil counsellors, till a successor shall arrive; and the vacant seat at the council thereby occasioned, shall be temporarily filled by one of the senior merchants of the Presidency, until successors duly appointed shall arrive to take their seats. In all these cases the salaries are to follow the active members while in council.

Provision is made for supplying the place of any member of council disabled from attending by illness.

The Act prescribes the order and method of conducting business at the Council Boards. Powers are given to the Governor General, or Governors, to act contrary to the opinions of the other members of council, taking upon themselves the sole responsibility of their so doing.

Provision is made in case of the absence of the Governor General; and in case he should be in the field without any council, all the governments shall obey his orders, and he alone be responsible.

33 Geo. III. c. 52.

All the governments are by this Act laid under restrictions to prevent war, or extension of dominion in India, unless hostilities against the Company or their allies shall render war unavoidable.

The Governor General, and other Governors, are vested with powers of apprehending persons

suspected of illicit correspondence with the enemies of the Company, or of Great Britain.

To the acting President of the several Council Boards, is given a casting vote in all cases of equality of voices.

The Directors are to appoint so many writers, and cadets only, as to supply vacancies according to returns from abroad. Their ages to be from 15, to 22, unless any cadet shall have been one year in the King's service, and then his age is not to exceed 25 years. All shall have promotion by seniority of service only. Three years' service qualifies a civil servant for a place of 500*l.* per annum; six years, for one of 1,500*l.*; nine years, 3,000*l.*; twelve years, 4,000*l.*, or upwards. None to take two offices where the joint emoluments shall exceed this rule. Nearly the same regulations are made by this Act as have been already mentioned in Mr. Pitt's bill of 1784, relative to receiving presents, disobedience of orders, and bargaining for offices. 33 Geo. III. C. 52.

Servants of the Company (under the degree of a member of council, or commander-in-chief) after five years' absence, cannot return with their rank, nor serve again, unless detained by sickness, or unless it be by leave of the General Court of Proprietors.

The Company's term is extended by this Act for twenty years, from March 1st, 1794, subject to be determined at, or after that period, on

three years' previous notice by Parliament, signified by the Speaker of the House of Commons.

Six years elapsed without the violation of the treaty made with Tippoo, and all its conditions being fulfilled, the two young hostages were sent back to their father, in 1794. Tippoo saw no prospect of making war with advantage, and Sir John Shore, who succeeded Marquis Cornwallis as Governor General, followed a strictly pacific system.

Sir John Shore's administration.

In May, 1798, the Earl of Mornington, afterwards Marquis Wellesley, arrived in India as Governor General. This nobleman, whose military career was destined to eclipse that of Clive, was sent with the most solemn injunctions to follow a course directly opposite to that which, throughout his administration, he actually did pursue. He was instructed not to engage, if possible, in hostilities with any native power; and yet he waged war with every one of them, and finally subdued all India, from the Himmalaya mountains to Cape Comorin. In fact, he was carried along by a current of circumstances which existed prior to any step taken by him in the administration of that country.

Arrival of the Earl of Mornington, May, 1798.

He had no sooner assumed the reins of government, than his attention was roused by a most remarkable proceeding on the part of the Sultan of Mysore. "That Prince had been induced, by the commander of a French privateer, to send

two ambassadors with him to the Isle of France, to adjust the terms of an offensive and defensive treaty with the French authorities of that island. The ambassadors succeeded in inducing the Governor of Mauritius to transmit a plan to the French executive Directory for the invasion of India, by a French army; to conquer the English, the Nizam, and the Mahrattahs, and to divide their territories with the Sultan of Mysore. Meanwhile the ambassadors succeeded in levying ninety-nine volunteers, with whom they landed at Mangalore, on the 26th April, 1798. The embassy, with their French allies, were welcomed to the capital, where they founded a jacobin club, planted the tree of liberty surmounted with the cap of equality, and on the public parade hailed the Sovereign as citizen Tippoo.

These proceedings were fully communicated to the Governor General, who immediately transmitted to the Court of Directors his decided opinion that they were equivalent to a public, unqualified, and unambiguous declaration of war; "and that an immediate attack upon Tippoo Sultan appeared to be demanded by the soundest maxims both of justice, and policy." Immediate attention was now required on the part of the Governor General to the strong corps formed under French officers at the capital of Hydrabad. Captain Kirkpatrick, resident at that court, was instructed to lay before the Nizam

the plan of an alliance, offensive and defensive, by which he was to be guaranteed against the attack of all his enemies. In support of this pledge, four English battalions with a body of artillery, in addition to the two already stationed there, were to be sent to his capital; but he was informed that the corps under French command must be immediately dissolved, and the officers dismissed. The movement of a large body of troops to the frontier intimated that these propositions were not meant to be optional. The Nizam was involved in doubt and perplexity. He is said to have been disgusted by the insolent conduct of the French officers; and on the 1st of September, 1798, he signed the treaty proposed to him by the English, which was ratified at Calcutta, on the 18th, and carried into effect with such expedition, that on the 10th of October, the new subsidiary force, arrived at Hydrabad.

The Nizam relapsed into doubt and irresolution, till Colonel Roberts, the English commander, cutting short all unnecessary discussion, marched up to the French cantonments, and on the 22d of October formed a circle round them.

The troops, at once dreading a contest with the English, and discontented on account of their arrears of pay, rose in mutiny against their officers; when, on being assured of the money due to them, and of future service under other leaders, they laid down their arms.

Thus, in a few hours, without a blow being struck, a corps of fourteen thousand men was dissolved. Lord Wellesley, having by these means, secured the co-operation of the Hydrabad forces, and by indefatigable exertions having rendered his military establishment efficient, resolved to bring affairs to an immediate crisis. His correspondence with Tippoo had continued friendly till the 8th of November, 1798, when he wrote a letter, in which, after discussing some general topics, he observed that it was impossible the Sultan could suppose him ignorant, or indifferent as to the intercourse maintained by him with the French, the inveterate foes of Britain. He and his allies had, on that account, been obliged to adopt certain measures of precaution and self-defence. Anxious, however, to suggest a plan which might promote the mutual security and welfare of all parties, he proposed to depute Major Doveton, an officer well known to the Sultan, (having been employed, in 1794, in conveying back to him the young Princes detained as hostages,) "who will explain to you more fully and particularly the sole means which appear to myself, and to the allies of the Company, to be effectual for the salutary purpose of removing all existing distrust and suspicion."

On the 10th of December the Governor General wrote another letter, announcing that he

was on the point of repairing to Madras, where he hoped to receive his reply.

Tippoo could not bring down his mind to the necessity of submission. He placed a vague confidence in destiny, in the aid of the French, and in alliances which he hoped to form with the northern powers of India. At length, on the 18th of December, probably after receiving the despatch of the 10th, he wrote a long explanatory letter. He represented the French affair as the casual arrival of a party of strangers in search of employment, which he had granted to a few; and he expressed extreme surprise that there should be any idea of the interruption of mutual amity between the English, and himself.

In reply to the above, his Lordship, having arrived at Madras, wrote, on the 9th of January, 1799 a long communication, fully explaining all his grounds of complaint. He gave a narrative of the transactions at the Isle of France, and inferred from thence, that his Highness's ambassadors had concluded an offensive alliance with the French against the Company and its allies; that they had demanded military succours, and levied troops with a view to its prosecution; that his Highness had sanctioned the conduct of his ambassadors, and had received into his army the troops which they had levied; that having made military preparations of his own,

he was evidently ready, had the succours been sufficient, to have commenced an unprovoked attack on the Company's possessions, and had broken the treaties of peace and friendship subsisting between him and the allies. Deeply regretting that the offered mission of Major Doveton had not been accepted, he still urged it as a means of conciliation, but earnestly requested that not above a day should elapse previous to its acceptance. On the 16th he wrote another letter, enclosing one to the Sultan from the Grand Seignior, transmitted through Mr. Spencer Smith, and also that Monarch's declaration of war against the French. At this stage of the proceedings, attempts were made to work upon the Mahommedan zeal of Tippoo, and to induce him to resent the attack made by that people upon the head of his religion; at the same time the reception of Major Doveton was again pressed. After a long silence, there arrived at Madras, on the 13th of February, 1799, without date, the following short, but singular epistle:

"I have been much gratified by the agreeable receipt of your Lordship's two friendly letters, the first brought by a camel man, the last by Hircarrahs, and understood their contents. The letter of the Prince, in station like Jumsheid, with angels as his guards, with troops numerous as the stars; the sun, illuminating the world of the heaven of empire, and dominion; the

luminary giving splendour to the universe of the firmament of glory, and power; the sultan of the sea, and land, the King of Room, (the Grand Seignior), be his empire and power perpetual! addressed to me, which reached you through the British envoy, and which you transmitted, has arrived. Being frequently disposed to make excursions, and hunt, I am accordingly proceeding upon a hunting excursion. You will be pleased to despatch Major Doveton, about whose coming your friendly pen has frequently written, slightly attended. Always continue to gratify me by friendly letters, notifying your welfare."

Tippoo was, in fact, at this time in a state of alarm as to the safety of his kingdom. He is reported to have vented imprecations upon all who had been concerned in the mission to the Isle of France. He made, however, a reluctant movement to the eastward, with the hope of meeting Major Doveton. But Lord Wellesley considered the time as passed when such an arrangement could be advantageously admitted. The monsoon, which begins in June, would put a stop to military operations, so that to enter upon a tedious negotiation would enable Tippoo to gain a whole year. On receiving, therefore, no answer by the 3rd of February, the Governor General had ordered the armies to advance; and on the arrival of the Sultan's letter, he wrote to him on the 22d of February, announcing that

the mission of Major Doveton could no longer be attended with the expected advantages; that his long silence had rendered it necessary to order the advance of the army; but that General Harris, who commanded it, was empowered to receive any embassy, and to enter into any negotiation, by which a treaty might be arranged on such conditions as should appear to the allies indispensably necessary to the establishment of a secure and permanent peace. Tippoo, however, before he received this letter, had determined to try the fortune of arms.

War with Tippoo, March, 1799.

The British force appointed to invade Mysore was composed of 4381 European, and 10,695 native infantry; 884 European, and 1751 native cavalry, with 608 artillery; forming in all a force of 18,319 fighting men, with 104 pieces of cannon, and 2483 lascars and pioneers. To these were added 10,157 infantry and 6000 horse, belonging to the Nizam, and which under British command now formed an effective body of troops. In the meantime, General Stuart, a veteran in Indian warfare, was advancing with 6420 men from Malabar, to join and co-operate with the main army.

By a rapid movement to the westward, Tippoo arrived on the 5th of March, 1799, very unexpectedly in the neighbourhood of the force under General Stuart. The English, who conceived that the main force of the enemy was still on the

opposite side of India, were somewhat disunited. The next day Tippoo effected a complete surprise; and the destruction of the advanced corps of the British was averted only by its own extraordinary valour, and the inferiority of the Indian troops in pitched battle.

The Sultan hastened back to meet the main army advancing against him from Coromandel. It might now have appeared evident that his only resource was by recurring to the military policy of his house; to throw a strong garrison into Seringapatam, to keep the field with large bodies of cavalry, and by continual movements to intercept the enemy's communications, cut off his supplies, and surprise his detachments.

His late success in the field had encouraged him to endeavour to contend with the English according to their own method, in regular warfare, and by pitched battles. To this system he had been partial ever since Lord Cornwallis' first retreat.

The British army was now advancing into the very heart of his dominions. The comprehensive mind of Marquis Wellesley instantly determined him on striking at once at Seringapatam, the reduction of which city would be followed by the entire downfal of the Sultan.

When the army had reached Malavilly, about thirty miles from the capital, the Sultan's encampment was observed from the heights, and

General Floyd, with the advance, having approached within a mile of that village, discovered their whole force posted on the elevated ground behind it. An immediate attack being determined on, it was led by Colonel Wellesley, supported by Floyd's cavalry, and directed against the enemy's right. A column of their troops advanced in perfect order and with great gallantry; but the English infantry reserving their fire, received that of their antagonists at sixty yards, rushed against the Mysoreans and broke their ranks, when General Floyd with the cavalry drove them from the field.

Siege of Seringapatam, April 5, 1799.

Tippoo made another attempt to carry into effect his plan of desultory warfare, but was foiled by the conduct of General Harris, who appeared on the 5th of April on the western front of the fortress of Seringapatam, at the distance of about two miles. Tippoo then threw himself into that fortress, with the intention of defending it to the last extremity. The English position was strong; their right resting on elevated ground, their left on the river Cavery; and several topes or groves of Indian trees, afforded ample materials for the construction of the works. The enemy still occupied a defensive line behind an aqueduct, on which Colonels Wellesley, and Shawe made a night attack, and were repulsed; but being reinforced they carried it in open day. General Floyd was detached to meet, and escort General

Stuart, and the Bombay army. On the evening of the 14th their junction was effected. General Floyd then marched to the southward in search of supplies.

Meantime it was in deliberation whence the fortress might be most advantageously attacked. On the 9th of April, Tippoo wrote a letter to General Harris, in which he merely asked why the English had invaded his country, and made war upon him, contrary to subsisting treaties which he had never violated. The General, in return, briefly referred him to the letters of Marquis Wellesley, which put an end to the correspondence.

Meantime the trenches had been opened, and the works proceeded regularly and rapidly. On the 20th and 26th, two strongly intrenched posts, which guarded the approaches to the wall, were carried by attacks under the direction one of Colonel Sherbrooke, and the other of the Hon. Colonel Wellesley.

Before the second of these actions, the Sultan, seeing his defences successively fall, resolved again to solicit a treaty, though sensible that it must be purchased with extensive sacrifices. He wrote, referring to the letters of the Governor General, and proposing a conference of ambassadors. General Harris, in reply, after taking a view of the recent events, announced, as the positive ultimatum, the cession of half his domi-

nions, the payment of two crores of rupees, one immediately, the other in six months; finally, the delivery of four of his sons, and four of his principal chiefs, as hostages. These conditions were to be accepted in 24 hours, and the hostages and specie delivered in 24 more; otherwise he reserved the right of extending these demands, till they should include even the provisional occupation of Seringapatam.

These terms, certainly not favourable, roused in the proud mind of Tippoo a violent burst of indignation. He raved against the arrogance and tyranny, of the English, and declared his determination to abide the worst decrees of fate, and rather to die with arms in his hands, than drag a wretched life as a dependant on infidels, and swelling the list of their pensioned Rajahs, and Nabobs; he resolved, in short, not to give a reply. But six days afterwards, when the last parallel had been completed, and nothing remained except the erection of the breaching batteries, he again brought down his mind to the attempt to gain either delay, or mitigation in the conditions of the treaty. A communication was received from him on the 28th, acknowledging that the letter of General Harris was a friendly one, but adding, that as the points in question were weighty, and not to be concluded without the intervention of ambassadors, he proposed to send two vakeels, or confidential messengers, to treat upon the subject.

The General, however, was fully determined not to admit any such overture. In his reply, he claimed credit for not making an advance on the terms already proposed, when by non-compliance, they had been virtually rejected. They were still offered, but no ambassadors could be admitted, unless accompanied by the hostages and the treasure, and the time during which they would be accepted was to terminate next day at three o'clock.

On perusing this answer, the energies of Tippoo's mind seemed entirely to fail. Yielding to despair rather than rage, he sunk into a state of stupor; he no longer took any steady view of his danger, or rationally followed out the means by which it might be averted.

At sunset on the 28th of April, the place was marked out for the breaching batteries, and as they were only four hundred yards from the wall, no doubt was entertained of their speedily effecting their purpose. On the 2d of May, the breaching batteries were completed, and opened their full fire on the curtain opposite them. During the previous night Lieutenant Lalor had crossed the river, which he found easily fordable. On the night of the 3rd, there was a practicable breach of a hundred feet wide; and one o'clock on the following day was fixed upon as the hour of assault.

Tippoo, meanwhile, as the term of his life and empire approached, occupied himself in super-

stitious modes of divining the events of futurity. He had recourse in his despair to the Bramins. Under their directions he went through a solemn ablution, offered a pompous sacrifice, and steadily contemplated his face in a jar of oil. Somewhat reassured by these sage precautions, and persuading himself that no attempt would be made upon the city that day, he had sat down to his forenoon meal, when tidings arrived that the enemy were scaling the ramparts. He ran to meet them.

Seringapatam taken by storm, May 4th, 1799

The morning of the 4th day of May, 1799, had been busily spent by the English in completing the breach, and making preparations for the assault. The storming party was composed of upwards of 4000 men, divided into two columns, who were instructed, after entering the breach, to file to the right and left along the summit of the rampart. The command was intrusted to Major-general Baird, who had been nearly four years immured as a captive in the fortress he was now about to enter as a conqueror.

A few minutes before one o'clock, Major-general Baird sent round orders, desiring every man to be ready at a moment's notice. When the crisis came, he mounted the parapet, and stood in the full view of both armies, in an heroic attitude, heightened by his noble figure. He then said, "Come, my brave fellows, follow me, and prove yourselves worthy the name of British soldiers."

Both columns sprang forward like lightning, and in seven minutes the British colours waved on the breach. The foremost assailants were met by a gallant band of Mysoreans, by whom they suffered severely, but who were soon overcome, and the storming parties pushed on to the right and left of the breach to gain possession of the ramparts. General Baird, after the triumphant success of the right column, had allowed his troops an interval of rest, when certain officers brought notice that they had discovered the Palace, and seen in a kind of durbar, or court, a number of persons assembled, apparently of high rank. General Baird immediately directed Major Allan, who seems to have been well qualified for this delicate task, to summon them to surrender, in order to avert the calamity that would be inevitable were the Royal residence to be taken by storm. This officer, on going towards the Palace, saw several persons in a sort of a balcony, to whom he announced his message. They manifested the greatest consternation, and soon brought the Killedar, or Governor, who appeared much embarrassed, and endeavoured to gain time; but Major Allan insisted upon entering with two other officers by a broken part of the wall. He found a terrace, on which there was a numerous assemblage of armed men. At length on his urgent solicitation he was admitted to the Princes, whom he found

seated upon a carpet, surrounded by numerous attendants. They concurred with other inhabitants of the Palace, in giving assurance that the Sultan was not *in the Palace*, and on the urgent representation of the British officers, he agreed with strong reluctance, that the gate should be thrown open. General Baird had already approached with a large body of troops, and instantly sent back the Major with Colonel Close, to bring out the Princes. After much alarm, and many objections, these young persons allowed themselves to be conducted into the presence of the British Commander. The General was greatly irritated, from having just heard, that thirteen prisoners had been murdered during the siege; and his feelings were probably heightened by the recollection of his own sufferings in the same place; but when he saw the unfortunate Princes, led out as captives, every harsher sentiment yielded to that of pity, and he gave them the most solemn assurances that they had nothing to fear. They were escorted to the court with arms presented, and all the honours due to their rank.

General Baird's object being now to obtain possession of the person of the Sultan, he proceeded in the most diligent manner, to search every corner of the palace: he forbore, indeed, to enter the zenana, but strictly guarded every passage by which any one could leave it. No

trace of the individual he sought could anywhere be found; till at length, by severe threats, a confession was extorted from the Killedar, that his master was lying wounded (as he supposed) in a gateway, to which he offered to conduct the British Commander. The latter, immediately accompanied him to the spot, where he beheld a mournful spectacle: it was here that the fiercest combat had raged; the wounded and dead were lying piled in heaps over each other; while the darkness which had just fallen, rendered the scene still more dismal. It was indispenable, however, immediately to ascertain the fact. Torches were brought, and the bodies successively removed, until they found the Sultan's horse, then his palanquin, and beneath it a wounded man, who was soon recognised as a confidential servant, and who pointed out the spot where his master had fallen. The body of the Sultan was at length found, and forthwith identified by the Killedar, and the other attendants. The features were in no degree distorted, but presented an aspect of stern composure; the eyes were open, and the appearance of life was so strong, that Colonel Wellesley and Major Allan, could not, for some time, believe him actually dead. It appears that, after having issued armed from the palace, with a band of trusty followers, he saw the English advancing along the rampart, and his men flying. He rallied them

by the utmost efforts of his voice, and example, shooting many of the enemy with his own hand; and he thus called forth that resistance, which had proved so formidable. At length, when the determined valour of the British troops prevailed against all opposition, he was left at one time almost alone, and obliged to accompany the fugitives, but with a few resolute adherents, he maintained the combat, till, being exposed to a fire from different quarters, he received two musket balls in his side. His horse was killed under him; and becoming faint from loss of blood, he was unable to make his way through the crowd. He was overtaken by a party of the conquerors, when one of his attendants besought him, as the only means of saving his life, to make himself known, but he peremptorily forbade the disclosure. An English soldier then made an attempt to detach his sword-belt, when the Sultan, with all his remaining strength, made a cut at the man, and wounded him near the knee. The soldier presently fired a ball, which entered the temple, and the wound proved speedily mortal. The body was carried to the palace, and was afterwards interred, with royal honours, in the splendid sepulchre of the Lâll Bang, erected by Hyder. Death of Tippoo.

Thus terminated a dynasty, which, though short, and limited, in point of territorial dominion, was undoubtedly the most vigorous and

best organised that had sprung out of the wreck of the Mogul Empire.

> The proudly beating heart, ne'er doomed to burst
> Beneath a victor's pity: ebbed its tide,
> Unconquer'd still; contending with the worst,
> That royal fortune, can (in state) abide.
>
> Then sacred be the meed of valour, where
> A gallant name should find a welcome shrine;
> A warrior's death, may claim a Briton's prayer,
> To shield his errors, with the Grace Divine.

Division of Mysore.

Mysore having been thus completely conquered, remained, as to its future arrangements, entirely at the disposal of the British government. The Mahrattahs had taken no share in the expedition, and the Nizam would be obliged to content himself with whatever the victors would choose to give. The Governor General took for the Company, in full sovereignty, the coast of Canara, the district of Coimbetoor, the passes of the Ghauts, and Seringapatam itself, the capital, and main channel of intercourse. He thus secured the whole sea-coast, and an easy communication across the peninsula.

There remained yet an extensive district in the interior of Mysore, which Marquis Wellesley judged most expedient not to partition, but to form it into a native kingdom, under the protection and control of Britain. The representative of one of the ancient houses of the Rajahs of Mysore, a child of five years of age, was raised

to the throne of this newly-created and dependent kingdom.

At the close of the year 1800, the Marquis Wellesley projected an expedition for the capture of Batavia, and ultimately that of the Isle of France, and Major-general Baird, who had commanded at the storming of Seringapatam, was appointed by the Governor General in council, to the conduct of this enterprise. The Hon Colonel Wellesley was again to be employed with his former companion in arms as his second in command. The force to be employed on this service, consisted of his Majesty's 10th, 19th, and 80th regiments, with detachments from the 86th and 88th, a corps of Bengal Native Volunteers, and two companies of European and native artillery. These troops were assembled at Trincomallee, and on the 5th of February, 1801, General Baird received orders to proceed to that place to assume his command. He had actually embarked from Calcutta for that purpose, when the receipt of a letter from Mr. Secretary Dundas, to the Governor General, occasioned a change in the destination of the expedition under General Baird, from the islands of the Eastern seas, to the plains of Egypt, where our Indian army reinforced from Bombay, was united with that which, under the immortal Abercrombie, had landed in Africa.

The letter of Lord Wellesley to Major-general

Baird on this occasion, is here quoted from the late publication of his life, by Mr. Hook.

"*Fort William, Feb. 10th*, 1801.

"My dear General,

"You will find by your instructions of this date, that your present destination is to the Red Sea, and Egypt, for the purpose of co-operating in the great object of expelling the French from that important position. A more worthy sequel to the storm of Seringapatam could not be presented to your genius and valour. I have chosen my brother to second you in this glorious enterprise, and I rely on your giving the public the full benefit of his talents, by admitting him to your cordial confidence, and by uniting most harmoniously and zealously with him in the prosecution of my wishes."

In prosecuting without interruption the train of British conquests in Southern India, we have lost sight of the Mahrattahs, unless in respect to their relations with the government of Mysore. These people had raised themselves into importance on the decline of the Mogul Empire, and became the most powerful instruments of its overthrow.* Only Mysore, in the height of its greatness, for a short time disputed their supremacy; but when that throne was first shaken, and then subverted, the foreign power by which this triumph had been achieved, became the only rival to the Mahrattahs, and the question soon arose which was to govern the Peninsula.

From the period of May, 1782, when a peace

was concluded with Sindia, a Mahrattah Chief, our relations with the Mahrattah power had been those of amity and alliance. This union was produced by common dread of the exorbitant power, and pretensions of the house of Mysore. Though the remissness on the part of the Mahrattahs had been undeniable during the war with Tippoo, the Marquis Wellesley set apart for them, as already mentioned, a portion of the conquered territory. But he determined to avail himself of his present commanding position, to establish, if possible, an effectual control over this great and turbulent state. He tendered to them the share in the spoils of Mysore, coupled with the condition, that the Peishwa, the nominal head of the Mahrattah confederation, should receive a British subsidiary force, ceding a portion of territory, the clear revenue of which might be sufficient for their maintenance. By this arrangement, it was obviously intended to reduce the Mahrattah power to a state of vassalage: and accordingly, after some months of delay and evasion, the demand was rejected.

The Governor General, however, embraced every opportunity of pressing this wise and politic measure; and contrary to what might have been expected, circumstances occurred which produced a favourable disposition towards it. The Peishwa, a prince of spirit and ambi-

tion, saw his power controlled, and narrowed, by that of the new military chiefs. Sindia, the principal of them, commanded a force much superior to that of his master, and began more and more to act as the real Lord of Maharashtva, viewing the other as little more than a pageant of state. The sovereign had long objected to an expedient so hazardous both to himself, and his people, as that of calling to his aid a foreign race, who had already acquired such an alarming ascendancy. At length, however, he consented to accept their aid, on the condition that the subsidiary force should not actually enter his territory, but take a station on the frontiers, to be employed when he should think it necessary. This qualification was evidently made with the view, that without allowing the English to gain any real footing, he might use their name, and the dread of their interposition, to establish his own influence over the native leaders.

The rival houses of Holkar, and Sindia, after recently emerging from the lowest obscurity, had divided between them nearly the whole military power of the Mahrattah state. Dissensions soon arose between them, and after various movements, the two armies engaged near Indore, Holkar's capital, when that chief was completely routed, and his power was supposed to be so completely crushed, that Sindia imprudently

neglected any further pursuit. No force is so easily, or rapidly recruited as that of the Mahrattahs. The vanquished leader, having undertaken some inroads into the surrounding territories, soon rallied round him all the bold youths who delighted in plunder, and adventure, and he soon found himself in a condition to march upon Poonah. Sindja, and the Peishwa, united their forces to oppose him, and there ensued in the vicinity of that city, one of the most obstinate battles recorded in the annals of Indian warfare. Holkar fought with the utmost desperation, and led his men to successive charges with such fury, that the enemy were completely broken, and fled in every direction.

Colonel Close, the British resident, while the engagement lasted, hoisted his flag, which was respected by both parties; and next day he was asked to visit the victorious General. He found him in his tent, ancle deep in mud, wounded both with a spear and a sabre. He received the Colonel with the utmost politeness, and professed a cordial attachment to the English, expressing a wish that they would assist in adjusting his differences with Sindia and the Peishwa. This last, however, whose courage failed him during the engagement, had fled to Singurh, whence he intimated his readiness to accede to the terms on which the British had offered to support him in power. He hastened to

the coast, and embarked at Severndroog for Bassein, where he was met by Colonel Close. On the 31st of December, 1802, they concluded a treaty, which may be considered as sealing the fate of India. The Peishwa agreed to receive, and support a subsidiary force sent by the Company, while the latter undertook to re-establish him as head of the Mahrattah confederation.

Treaty of Bassein, December 31st, 1802.

Sindia, meanwhile, resolved to oppose the entrance of any foreign power into the Mahrattah territory.

The Governor General, having determined upon war with Sindia, formed a very comprehensive plan of operation, both for the aggrandisement and permanent security of the British Indian Empire. General Wellesley from the Mysore frontier, and Colonel Stevenson from Hydrabad were instructed to make a combined movement upon Poonah, to drive out the force occupying that capital, re-establish the authority of the Peishwa, who was now at Bombay, and prosecute, if possible, the war against Sindia, and the Rajah of Berar who had joined him. A force destined to control the whole Mahrattah confederation, was, agreeably to the same plan, to be permanently stationed in the city of Poonah. Meanwhile, General Lake was ordered to advance from Bengal into the interior provinces, to attack and disperse the army under Perron.

The result of opposition in this quarter, would, it was hoped, extend the British frontier to the Jumna, and thereby include the imperial cities of Agra, and Delhi. It was also expected that possession might be obtained of the individual who still bore the title of the Great Mogul, which even in its lowest depression commanded great revenue throughout Hindostan. At the same time, the maritime territory of Cuttack, belonging to the Rajah of Berar, was, if possible, to be added to the British territories, which would then comprehend the whole coast, from Arracan to Cape Comorin. With the same view, the Presidency of Bombay was to send an expedition to reduce Baroach, and the neighbouring coast of Guzerat. In event of the success of this enterprise, the Company would be masters of the whole circuit of the Indian coast, and be able to cut off all connexion between their European and native enemies.

War with Sindia, Mar. 1803.

On the 9th of March, 1803, General Wellesley marched from his position at Hurryhur, and on the 12th entered the Mahrattah territory. Colonel Stevenson, at the same time, broke up from Hydrabad with the subsidiary force of about 8,000 men, and 15,000 troops furnished by the Nizam. On the 15th of April, the two divisions united at Akloos, about 70 miles S.E. of Poonah. Holkar, on hearing of the approach of the English, determined not to involve him-

self in hostile proceedings, but retreated to Chandore, a place 130 miles to the north of Poonah, leaving Amrut Ras, whom he had invested with the dignity of Peishwa, with only a small detachment in that capital. The General then deemed it not necessary to lead his whole army to a place where it could not without much difficulty procure subsistence; but being informed by Colonel Close, that there was reason to apprehend that Amrut Ras would set fire to the capital, where part of the family of the Peishwa still resided; he formed a select corps of cavalry, and advanced with such speed, that in thirty-two hours he reached Poonah, which Amrut had hastily quitted without attempting any violence. The English power being thus established in the Mahrattah capital, the Peishwa was escorted from Bombay by a detachment under Colonel Murray, and resumed his seat on the musnud amid the congratulations of the British and native armies.

General Wellesley having thus accomplished the main object of the treaty of Bassein, was inclined to push his advantages no farther, but to allow the great military chiefs to retain their independent position. Holkar, in fact, declined involving himself in any hasty step, and having retired into the heart of his own dominions, watched the progress of events. But Sindia, and the Rajah of Berar viewed with the deep-

est indignation the success of a scheme, which placed the head of the Mahrattah confederacy under control, and the capital in the hands of a foreign power. These two chiefs led their forces to positions where, in communication with each other, they threatened the territory of the Nizam. In this critical state of affairs, General Wellesley, who had been invested by the Governor General with the entire power of peace, or war, instructed Colonel Collins, the British resident in the camp of Sindia, to demand an explanation of his present threatening attitude. It was further required, that Sindia, and the Rajah of Berar, should withdraw their troops to their ordinary situations in the centre of their respective territories, while a corresponding movement should be made on the part of the British army. To this demand, Sindia replied, that he expected in a few days to have an interview with the Rajah of Berar, when the Resident should be informed, whether it should be peace, or war.

A series of negotiations ensued, which appear to have been commenced on the part of the allies merely to gain time. Their hostile disposition being manifest, war was commenced by General Wellesley, who with characteristic promptitude marched upon Ahmednugger, and on the 8th of August, 1803, summoned that fortress, which was considered one of the bul-

War with Sindia, Aug. 1803.

warks of the Deccan. On the first day the town was stormed, and on the 10th a battery was opened against the fort, which on the 12th was evacuated by the garrison.

General Wellesley then proceeded to the city of Aurungabad. Meantime, however, the confederates, with their numerous cavalry, had passed Col. Stevenson, and appeared resolved to cross the Godavery, and make a rapid march against Hydrabad, the capital of the Nizam. Wellesley, however, by a judicious movement, obliged them to return northwards, and determined to bring them to close combat. The two English commanders, with this view, marched separately, though at a small distance, along the two roads by which the enemy was expected to pass. General Wellesley having learned that their infantry was encamped in his vicinity, hastened forward; when on reaching the plain, contiguous to the village of Assaye, he discovered their whole army, including every description of troops, and amounting to upwards of 50,000 men, drawn up in order of battle. His own force did not exceed 4,500; yet General Wellesley immediately determined to attack them.

Battle of Assaye, Sept. 23, 1803.

The British infantry moved forward in the face of a tremendous fire with a steady pace, and bore down all opposition. The enemy's cavalry, however, on seeing the opposite ranks

so much reduced, made a desperate attempt to break them; but they encountered a dashing charge from the English horse, which soon compelled them to join the retreat of the infantry. The victory seemed complete, when it was for a moment rendered doubtful by a very unexpected incident. By a stratagem, not unexampled in the east, a number of Indians had thrown themselves on the ground, and been passed as dead by the advancing troops. They now started up, seized some of the captured guns, and commenced a brisk fire from behind, under favour of which a few of the flying squadrons rallied. General Wellesley, however, with his usual presence of mind, detached several corps, by whom this alarming resurrection was soon put down; and the whole Indian host was forthwith involved in one promiscuous flight, leaving on the field twelve hundred dead, with nearly the whole of their artillery.

After this victory Sindia proceeded to make separate overtures; but as they were presented at first through private and unaccredited channels, which he might afterwards disown, no proceeding could be founded upon them. The city of Burhanpoor, and the adjoining fort of Asseerghur, next fell to the British arms. Sindia then began to sue in earnest for peace, and the terms of an armistice were arranged for all his territories south of the Nerbudda. The British

General next led his army against Berar, and found the Rajah with his troops on the plains of Argeem, where, contrary to the convention, he was still supported by a strong party of Sindia's cavalry. Wellesley attacked them without hesitation, and, after a contest less obstinate than at Assaye, gained a complete victory.

Gawilghur, a hill fort, next fell, and General Wellesley could now have advanced upon the Rajah's capital, and threatened the extinction of his power, but a vakeel had already arrived in his camp to solicit a conference preparatory to negotiation. The British Commander demanded the surrender of the maritime province of Cuttack, which was desirable for completing the Company's dominions on the eastern coast; also the surrender of a territory on the river Warda, the authority over which had been shared hitherto between the Rajah and the Nizam. Some further arrangements were completed by the 16th, and the treaty signed on the 17th of December, 1803.

Treaty with the Rajah of Berar, December 17, 1803.

Meantime, the central regions of Hindostan were the theatre of events equally memorable. Sindia's force here consisted of the corps formed on the European model by De Boigne, who, having returned to France, had been succeeded by Perron. These troops were considered very formidable, consisting of 16 or 17,000 regular infantry, 15 to 20,000 cavalry, a large body of

irregulars, and a well-appointed train of artillery. General Lake having been informed of the failure of the negotiation with Sindia, moved from Cawnpoor on the 7th of August, 1803; on the 28th he passed the frontier, and the next day found the whole of Perron's cavalry in a strong position near Coel, a town in the Doab. He presently led his troops to the attack; when the native army, deemed so efficient and well equipped, after a short random fire, retreated with such rapidity that the English could not overtake them. The next object was the fort of Alighur, the main depôt of the enemy. It was gallantly carried by storm by Colonel Monson and Major McLeod.

It being understood that Perron was discontented with the service of Sindia, General Lake was authorized to make large offers on condition of his coming over to the English, and bringing his troops with him.

In fact, Perron himself wrote, requesting an asylum at Lucknow, and afterwards stated his desertion to have been occasioned by the appointment of another officer to supersede him in the command.

After the capture of Alighur, Lake marched directly upon Delhi, the imperial capital, and the residence of him who still enjoyed the rank and title of Great Mogul. He had advanced within view of its walls, when he discovered the

army, organized under French command, drawn up in a strong position to defend its approaches. Though he had only 4,500 men, against 19,000, yet he determined to give battle without delay; but as the enemy could not, without difficulty and severe loss, have been dislodged from their present ground, he used a feigned retreat as a stratagem to draw them from it. This delicate manœuvre was executed by the British troops with perfect order and skill; the enemy, imagining the retreat real, quitted their intrenchments, and eagerly pursued; but as soon as they had been fully drawn forth on the plain, General Lake faced about: a single charge drove them from the field, with the loss of three thousand in killed and wounded, and their whole train of artillery.

Lake enters Delhi.

The British General now entered Delhi without resistance. He immediately requested, and obtained an audience of the Sovereign, with whom a secret communication had previously been opened. He beheld this unfortunate descendant of a long line of illustrious princes, "seated under a small tattered canopy, the remnant of his former state, his person emaciated by indigence and infirmities, and his countenance disfigured with the loss of his eyes, and marked with extreme old age and a settled melancholy.' He is described as deeply sensible to the kindness of Lake, on whom he

bestowed several titles, such as Lord of the Age, Sword of the State, Hero of the Land, and the Victorious in War. All his adherents, and the people of Delhi in general, expressed delight on this occasion, and the journalists, in the language of oriental hyperbole, proclaimed that the Emperor, through excess of joy, had recovered his sight. The English did not, indeed, restore any shadow of his former power; but they maintained him in comfort, and with some semblance of the pomp by which the Mogul throne had been anciently surrounded. In return, they obtained for all their measures the sanction of a name still venerated throughout the empire; indeed, they were thus virtually seated on the throne of India.

The conquerors now marched upon Agra, the rival Indian capital, which possessed the advantage of being defended by a strong fort, occupied by a large body of troops.

Capture of Agra, 17th October, 1803

A breach being effected on the 17th of October, 1803, the enemy capitulated the same evening, stipulating only for the safety of their persons and private property. The treasure found here, amounting to no less than 280,000*l.*, was, divided among the troops as prize-money.

There remained still in the field, a corps composed of troops detached from the Deccan, reinforced by fugitives from the different armies. General Lake hastened to pursue this force, and

considering it only as a collection of runaways, little apprehended that he was about to encounter the most obstinate resistance he had sustained during the whole campaign. This body, consisting of 2000 foot, 5000 horse, and a numerous train of artillery, were rapidly retreating, when, on the 1st of November, he overtook them with his cavalry alone, and determined, by an immediate attack, to prevent their escape. The enemy, however, having their motions concealed by a cloud of dust, speedily threw themselves into an advantageous position, which they strengthened by cutting the embankment of a reservoir in the front. The cavalry were led on, and had gained some advantages, when they suffered so severely from the fire of a well-served artillery, that it was judged necessary to withdraw them, and wait till the infantry came up.

The infantry carried all before them, and when the Mahrattah cavalry attempted to break through their thinned ranks, the British horse repelled the charge. The remainder of the foot soon appeared; and after a desperate stand, the enemy, for the most part, were either destroyed or made prisoners. In short, by this brilliant success, the entire army, formed and disciplined under Sindia, by French officers, and considered the finest possessed by any native power, was completely annihilated.

Sindia, thus vanquished at every point, deserted by the Rajah of Berar, and seeing his finest levies destroyed, felt the necessity of finally relinquishing those expedients by which, till now, he had hoped to avert the necessity of a humiliating peace. On the 30th of December, 1803, a treaty was signed in General Wellesley's camp, by which Sindia ceded the Doab, or territory between the Ganges and the Jumna, with considerable provinces beyond the latter river; surrendering thereby to the British dominion, Delhi and Agra, the two capitals of the Great Mogul, and with them the person of the nominal Emperor. He ceded also Baroach, and the rest of his maritime territory in Guzerat. On the south, he yielded Ahmednugger to the Peishwa, and some extensive districts to the Nizam.

Treaty with Sindia, December 30th, 1803.

Meantime, Holkar, while witnessing the downfal of the Mahrattah confederacy, had maintained a very uncertain and equivocal position. The victorious career of the English struck him with consternation, but it proceeded with such rapid steps, that before he could come to any decision, it had completely realized its object. He determined, however, to plunge into a contest with the English. He threatened the territory of their ally, the Rajah of Jyenagur: he made extravagant, and even insulting demands: he wrote to General Wellesley—"Countries of many hundred coss shall be overrun, and plundered: Lord

Lake shall not have leisure to breathe for a moment; and calamities will fall on lacs of human beings in continental war, by the attacks of my army, which overwhelms like the waves of the sea." At the same time, he earnestly invited Sindia, and other Princes, who remained still independent, to unite against the British, as a common enemy.

The Governor General, in determining to open the campaign against Holkar, considered it necessary not merely to reduce and limit, but altogether to extirpate a power whose existence seemed incompatible with the repose and security of all the other states. To display, however, the disinterested views of Britain, it was determined not to retain for her any part of the conquered territory, but to distribute it among those chiefs who adhered even formally to her alliance. Sindia was to receive the largest share, provided he gave cordial aid in overthrowing the pretensions of his rival.

Holkar, however, was by no means a contemptible enemy. His cavalry, swelled by the wreck of the other defeated armies, and by numerous adventurers, amounted to 60,000, to which were added 15,000 well disciplined infantry and 192 pieces of artillery.

General Wellesley was unable to advance in consequence of a famine which prevailed in the Deccan; and Lake, after reducing the fort of

Rampoora, left Colonel Monson, with five battalions and 3,000 horsemen to watch the enemy's movements. Holkar, who was a second Hyder for desultory warfare, succeeded in bringing his whole force to act against this single detachment: yet it has been supposed that had Monson promptly led his men to the charge he might have encountered with success this large undisciplined host. He resolved, on the contrary, upon retreat, a movement always disastrous before Mahrattah forces. Every thing combined to render his march unfortunate; the swelling of the rivers, the inundated and swampy plains, the scarcity of provisions, the desertion or hostility of the native troops, among whom was a strong party belonging to Sindia. These last, in the hour of distress, turned their arms against the British, whom they had undertaken to assist. The detachment indeed did not forfeit their honour, having triumphantly repulsed every attack; but they lost all their artillery and baggage; many of the sick, the exhausted, and the wounded were left behind, and cut to pieces; and when, on the 31st of August, 1804, they reached Agra, most of the regiments were in a state of total disorganization.

Holkar advanced upon Muttra and took possession of it. But General Lake now hastened with the utmost expedition from Cawnpoor, and having assembled his forces at Secundra,

marched against the Mahrattah army, which then relinquished its position. The Indian chief, however, contrived, by alternately advancing and retreating with his cavalry, to occupy the attention of the British Commander, while his infantry, by a rapid movement, succeeded in reaching Delhi by the 8th of October, and immediately invested it. The city, ten miles in circumference, with a ruinous wall, was guarded only by a small body of Sepoys. Lieutenant-colonels Ochterlony and Burn, however, led on these troops with such spirit and judgment, that all the enemy's attacks were repulsed, and after seven days of persevering efforts they were compelled to raise the seige.

General Lake, on receiving intelligence of the danger of Delhi, hastened to that capital, which he reached on the 17th of October. Learning that Holkar, with his cavalry, had begun a course of devastation along the Doab, he pursued him, sending his infantry, under General Fraser, to attack that of the enemy now stationed at Deeg, a strong fort belonging to the Rajah of Bhurtpore, who on seeing the scale of fortune turn against the British, had embraced the opposite interest. Fraser found them on the 13th strongly intrenched under the stronghold just named, their front covered by a morass, and their left by a fortified village. The battle was a repetition of that of Assaye,

Battle of Deeg, 13th Oct. 1804.

and like that was distinguished by a manœuvre of the Indian cavalry. Wheeling round and recovering several of the first line of guns, they turned them on the English rear; but they were soon chased off the field by a party of the 76th, headed by Captain Norford, who, however, lost his life in this exploit. At length the enemy were driven to the walls of the fort with the loss of the greater part of their artillery, among which Monson recognized a portion of that lost during his late unfortunate retreat.

Meantime the gallant Lake was in hot pursuit of the Mahrattah Chief, following him at the rate of twenty-three miles a day. At length by marching fifty-three miles in twenty-four hours, he came up on the 17th of November, with the enemy under the walls of Furruckabad. The Indian horse never could stand a charge in the field; they were routed, 3000 cut to pieces, and the rest saved only by the rapidity of their flight. Holkar then marched towards Deeg to join the remains of his infantry. The British General arrived at that fortress on the 1st of December, and determined immediately to undertake the siege. Ten days, however, elapsed before the battering train could be brought from Agra, and thirteen days more before a breach could be effected in a detached work which commanded the approach. It was then carried by storm in the night of the 23d, and the enemy were so struck

by the daring intrepidity of the British, that in the course of the two following days, they evacuated both the town and fort, and retired towards Bhurtpore.

Holkar was now about to sustain a complete reverse of fortune. While the strength of his army was broken by recent defeats, his dominions, whence he might have drawn recruits and resources, had fallen into the enemy's possession. Colonel Wallace from the Deccan, had reduced Chandore, and the other strongholds in that quarter; while Colonel Murray, from Guzerat, having overrun nearly the whole of Malwa and entered Indore, the capital, was already preparing to intercept his retreat. The only point of resistance was Bhurtpore, the Rajah of which still adhered to his alliance. The reduction of that city was therefore considered necessary to complete the triumph over this turbulent chief: him. This place at first sight did not present a very formidable aspect to an army before which many of the mightiest bulwarks of India had fallen.

It was encircled by none of those rugged steeps which guarded the approach to other native strongholds. The only defence consisted in a lofty mud wall, and a broad ditch not easily fordable; and the very extent of its mud walls, which embraced a circumference of six or eight miles, increased the difficulty of defending them.

But the Rajah applied himself to its defence with the utmost skill and resolution. The kingdom of the Mahrattahs he observed was in their saddle, his was within his ramparts. Hitherto, in general, the reduction even of the strongest forts had proceeded in a sure and regular course; the trenches were opened, a storming party was selected, who forced their way with greater or smaller loss, and became masters of the place. But the defenders of Bhurtpore not only fought with the most daring valour, but called into action means of defence and annoyance, which the English had never elsewhere encountered, and for which they were wholly unprepared. They rendered the breach impracticable by raising behind it stockades, and other bulwarks. They made the ditch unfordable, and during the assault, logs of wood, pots filled with combustibles, and burning cotton bales steeped in oil were thrown upon the soldiers.

Attack of Bhurtpore, by Lord Lake.

In short, the British army were repulsed in four successive attempts, sustaining in killed and wounded, a loss of 3203; greater than had occurred in any two battles during this obstinately contested campaign.

It was now necessary to intermit the operations of the siege, to repair the losses sustained, and to bring forward more adequate means of attack. The Rajah, however, apprehensive of the final issue, and seeing that his entire down-

fal must be the consequence of the loss of his capital, made very advantageous overtures, including the payment of twenty lacs of rupees as the price of peace; while, on the other hand, the situation of affairs was such as induced the English General, on the 10th of April, to embrace the conditions, and even to promise in case of a steady adherence to treaty, the restoration of the fortress of Deeg.

Treaty with the Rajah of Bhurtpore, April 10th, 1805.

Holkar, during the siege, had made many exertions to interrupt or retard it by movements with his cavalry. He partly succeeded; but a large body under Ameer Khan was entirely defeated, and some smaller detachments, whom the English overtook, suffered so severely that at length they fled at the mere sight of their antagonists. This chief, therefore, after being deserted by the Rajah of Bhurtpore, was reduced almost to the condition of a fugitive, and his situation seemed altogether desperate, when relief came from an unexpected quarter. Sindia had been strongly affected on witnessing the commencement of the war by Holkar, and the brilliant successes of his campaign. He evidently conceived the idea of seizing this opportunity of retrieving his fortunes. He began by raising demands upon the British; he marched his troops towards their frontier, and when remonstrated with, delayed upon various pretexts to withdraw them. At length, when Holkar

after the peace made by the Bhurtpore Rajah, was retreating in a shattered and reduced condition, he received him into his camp, having already committed the almost unprecedented outrage of plundering the abode, and seizing the person of the British resident.

Lord Lake, as the rainy season now approached, could not immediately follow the hostile chiefs into the heart of their territories. Their power, however, was so completely broken, that he entertained no doubt of soon reducing them to submission. But the entire system of British policy respecting India, underwent at this crisis a decided change.

The vast scheme of conquest, and subsidiary alliance, by which Marquis Wellesley had studied to place the whole of this Eastern Empire under British control, had excited in the mother country a deep sensation. The public were to a certain degree dazzled with its splendid success; yet a numerous body of politicians exclaimed that this course was contrary to all true principles of policy; that it formed an interminable system of war; that the Company, in seating themselves upon the throne of the Mogul, and endeavouring to effect the conquest of all Hindostan, had entirely relinquished the basis on which they had uniformly professed to act. The contest with Holkar, breaking out with so formidable an aspect after all the others had closed,

gave rise to painful feelings as to the endless duration of Indian hostility. The Company strongly influenced by public opinion, and struck by the enormous expenditure in which the campaign had already involved them, determined to change entirely the system according to which their affairs were conducted. In place of the Marquis Wellesley, they substituted the Marquis Cornwallis. His instructions were, to proceed on principles every way opposite to those in operation; to conclude peace almost at any price; to form a defensive line beyond which the British interference was not to extend; and to allow the native powers to treat and fight with each other as if they were situated at the extremity of the globe.

Marquis Wellesley had announced the necessity, from the state of his health, of returning to Europe as soon as the contest with Sindia and the Rajah of Berar should have been brought to a termination. On learning, however, that a rupture with Holkar had taken place, he intimated his willingness to remain, and bring it to a close. The views of the Government at home were different, and on the 30th of July, 1805, Marquis Cornwallis arrived at Calcutta.

On a review of the seven years of the administration of the Marquis Wellesley, it will appear that all the resources of British India must have been required to maintain the almost

unceasing state of warfare which that period presents; nevertheless, it is to be lamented that his grand designs for the extension of the British power, and subjugation of that of the various Mahrattah Chieftains, were not completed, after being so far advanced. According to the adherents of the Wellesley policy, the system pursued by that nobleman was so far advanced towards maturity, that only one short effort, of easy and assured success, was necessary to place all India in a state of tranquillity, and to keep down those discordant elements which would otherwise lay waste the country. By stopping short of this point, great part of the empire was involved in calamity and disorder, and the foundation laid for another expensive, and even perilous struggle.

During Lord Wellesley's administration, great embellishments, and large additions to the city of Calcutta were made. The present Government House, or rather Palace, was built, and the country residence of Barrackpoor might have been worthy of the retirement of a Governor General of India, had the building Lord Wellesley began been completed. Since Lord Cornwallis's first administration no material change has taken place in the constitution of the Company, or in the mode of governing their possessions. But it may be interesting to point out the means by which their numerous

vassal states have been brought, and are still retained under their control.

The first and most efficient of these expedients was, to quarter in the territories of an ally, with his real, or apparent consent, troops which he either took into pay or maintained, contributing an adequate sum. They were understood to be placed there merely for the purpose of securing him from foreign aggression, or the efforts of a domestic competitor, but to interfere in no shape with the internal government. The presence, however, in the heart of his dominions, of a force decidedly superior to his own in discipline and numbers, placed him, of course, under a silent, but real control. This being fully established, the next step was to require that, instead of money payments, he should cede a portion of territory, the revenues of which might defray the expense of the subsidiary troops. With this was combined, not necessarily indeed, but usually, an agreement to intrust the defence of his borders entirely to the Company, and to discontinue all political and diplomatic intercourse with any other power. The last stage of subjection arrived when he was required to resign the whole administration into the hands of the British, and to retain the mere pomp and circumstance of royalty, supported by a liberal allowance of revenue.

Of these three arrangements, the first was

often cheerfully acceded to, and even solicited by the Sovereign when his power appeared in danger, either from foreign or domestic enemies. No long time elapsed, however, before the yoke was painfully felt, both by ruler and people; and the second step, consisting in a cession of land, could only be brought about by a feeling of invincible necessity. After this measure was adopted, the government of the Company became, generally speaking, very odious, and intrigues were usually formed for the expulsion of their agents, which again afforded a pretext for employing their power to compel the Prince to acquiesce in the third, or final arrangement.

It is painful to remark, that the divided power prevailing under these successive systems, has been productive of extensive misgovernment. The Rajahs and Nabobs, secured by a British force against any insurrection of the people, could defy their discontent, indulge in violent and tyrannical measures, and gratify their avidity by every means of extortion. The entire subjection, therefore, of the Sovereign, afforded, in general, a salutary relief to the great body of the people. Ever after the successful war, which terminated with the capture of Pondicherry, the English were the real masters of the Carnatic, and held the Nabob as their vassal; but he shewed himself much dissatisfied with his position, and contributed very little to their aid in

the formidable contests with Mysore. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, on opening his grand campaign against Tippoo, resolved, as the only mode of rendering the resources of the Carnatic available, to insist, that, during the war, it should be placed entirely in his possession, a liberal provision being made for the Chief, to whom, when peace should return, the Government was to be restored. That Prince made all the resistance in his power; though he was at length compelled to submit. His territories were occupied, but agreeably to treaty, given back at the close of the war. This arrangement, however, was found so inconvenient, and the Nabob's conduct so little satisfactory, that Marquis Wellesley, before opening his final campaign against Tippoo, in 1799, resolved to press a new negotiation, by which a certain portion of territory should be made over to the Company in full and final sovereignty; in consideration of which, the entire occupation, formerly stipulated, should be dispensed with. The Nabob strenuously opposed this proposal, and succeeded in delaying its fulfilment till the rapid successes of the British arms had brought the war to a successful termination. He then maintained, that the circumstances had ceased upon which this new demand was founded. There was discovered, however, in the archives of Seringapatam, a series of letters between this Prince and the Sultan of

Mysore, in which the former applied the most flattering language to Tippoo, while he mentioned the Allies with disdain, describing the English as new-comers, the Nizam as nothing, and the Mahrattahs as contemptible.

The hostile disposition which these letters manifested, was not only in accordance with the general tenor of his conduct, but arose, perhaps, out of his humbled situation.

Under these impressions, the Governor General directed Lord Clive, the Resident, to insist on carrying into effect the third arrangement, by which the Prince was to resign into the hands of the English, the entire administration, civil and military, of his dominions, and to retire, with a liberal provision for himself and family. But when Clive received these instructions, his Highness laboured under so severe an illness as made it impossible to communicate them. His death followed soon after; the complaint, and the demand founded upon it, were first made to his reputed son, Ali Hussein; a circumstance unfavourable to the British, who thus appeared disposed to visit the offences of the father upon a son who was not even accused of participating in them. The young man shewed considerable irresolution; he, at one time, gave his consent; but swayed by the advice of his guardians, he finally met the proposals with a positive rejec-

tion. The Company then looked round for another branch of the blood-royal, whom the advantages still attached to the name of Nabob, might incline to govern on their own terms. They pitched upon Azeen-ul-Dowlah, a nephew of the deceased, who, having no other access to greatness, was easily induced to accept this dignity, even on the unfavourable terms upon which it was tendered. A similar arrangement had just been made with the Rajah of Tanjore, who retired on a pension, consisting of a lac of pagodas, and a third part of the net revenues; and hence the English were established in the uncontrolled administration, civil and military, of the whole Carnatic.

The Nizam who had long fluctuated between a French and British alliance, was, in 1798, through the vigorous measures of the Marquis Wellesley, compelled to accept the latter, and to permit the occupation of his country by a subsidiary force. The overthrow of the house of Mysore had the effect of reducing him to a state of complete dependance, of which the Marquis took advantage, and required him to cede a large extent of territory, including all that he had received on the partition of Tippoo's dominions. To this was also annexed the condition, that he should intrust all his foreign intercourse to the English. Since that time, although many dis-

contents have fermented between the two parties, affairs have proceeded without any material change in their relative situation.

The Nabobship of Oude, combined with the nominal, yet still respected title of Vizier, when held by the vigorous hands of Sujah Dowla, formed one of the most important fragments, into which the Mogul Empire had been separated. This chief invited, and even bribed the English, with the view of aiding him in the subjection of Rohilcund, and in defending himself against the Mahrattahs. But under his feeble successor Asoph-ul-Dowlah, it was felt that the army of occupation at once burthened the finances, and kept the country in real subjection. Continued remonstrances were therefore employed to procure a reduction of this force; and Mr. Hastings had agreed, in consideration of the sum paid out of the spoil of the Begums to withdraw a great part of it.

During the administration of Sir John Shore, Asoph-ul-Dowlah died, and his reputed son, Vizier Ali, at first succeeded, but the Governor General, who had proceeded in person to Lucknow, being convinced of his illegitimacy, employed the British power in raising to the throne Saadut Ali, eldest surviving brother of Asoph-ul-Dowlah. Vizier Ali was removed to Benares, where, irritated at being dethroned, he attacked and assassinated Mr. Cherry, the English resident,

and some other gentlemen. He then fled, but his person was afterwards secured. The new Nabob, who owed his existence to the Company, was obliged to agree to a treaty by which the subsidiary force was to be considerably augmented, with a discretionary power to increase it still farther. He soon, however, began to shew symptoms of uneasiness under the thraldom to which he was thus reduced: and Marquis Wellesley thought it advisable to demand that he should receive a much larger body of troops, and cede for their support, the valuable territories of Rohilcund and the Doab, an arrangement by which he was completely enclosed within the British dominions, and separated from all the other powers of India.

Among the acquisitions made by negotiation, that is, by demands which the other parties were unable to resist, was that of Surat in 1800, and of Furruckabad in 1802, when their respective Nabobs were pensioned at the rate of 12,000*l.* a year.

On the 30th of July, 1805, Marquis Cornwallis arrived at Calcutta, where learning that the war was still going on, he determined to proceed immediately into the upper provinces and make personal inquiry into the state of affairs. In his zeal for the public service, however, and to fulfil the anxious wish of his coun-

trymen, he had undertaken this duty at a period when his age and infirmities rendered him very unequal to its performance. Under the fatigue of the voyage his illness daily increased, till on reaching the village of Ghazeepoor on the Ganges, he was obliged to land, and after lingering for some time, died on the 5th of October. Having been unable to reach his destination, while his mind, as well as his body, were impaired by indisposition, he had been little able to receive or consider any fresh information. His place was supplied by Sir George Barlow, the senior member in council at the Supreme Government, who had reached that station through various gradations of service, which he had filled with distinction; but his previous habits had not accustomed him to take comprehensive and statesmanlike views of public interests. Regarding with the deepest respect the views of his predecessor, and considering them as supported by the government at home, he refused to listen to any arguments, or admit any of the modifications suggested by Lord Lake.

Death of Marquis Cornwallis, Oct. 1805.

That Commander, although he disapproved of the new system, finding it was firmly established by the supreme power, judiciously sought to carry it into effect on the most advantageous footing. He managed, with great address, to draw the first overtures from Sindia,

and as it had been determined to yield all the points in dispute, no difficulty was found in the conclusion of a treaty on the 23d of Nov. 1805.

Holkar, after being deserted by his ally, retreated with the wreck of his army into the western provinces, to seek refuge among the Seiks. They refused to receive him, and being closely pursued by Lord Lake, he would have been reduced to extremities, had he not been saved by the new policy which the military commanders were compelled to observe. No sooner did he ask for peace, than it was granted, on terms so advantageous as allowed him to regain almost all that he had lost during the war.

Amid this general dissolution of defensive alliances, those formed on the grand scale with the Nizam, and the Peishwa, necessarily came under consideration. The connexion with the latter, founded on the treaty of Bassein, and out of which the late war had arisen, was described by the Company as one which they were desirous to relinquish. Yet even Sir George Barlow, when he came to consider the proposed measures, could not but view them as fraught with extreme peril. To dissolve the alliance with these potentates, and to withdraw the troops by which they were at present overawed, would have been to relieve the greater part of the powers of India from British control, while

they were still animated, by the most hostile feelings towards her; it would, in fact, have been to lay the foundation of a future confederacy for her downfal. The Peishwa, likewise, notwithstanding his general aversion to the English, had motives connected with the internal state of his dominions, which made him desirous, for the present at least, to claim on that ground the fulfilment of the treaty of Bassein.

Arrival of Lord Minto, 1807.

Sir George Barlow was succeeded in 1807 by Lord Minto, who endeavoured, in his general system, to maintain the pacific policy recommended by the Company, without shrinking from vigorous, and even hostile demonstrations, when the conduct of the native powers appeared to render these necessary. The great states during his administration retained their positions nearly unaltered; but animosities continued to ferment, which were destined to burst into a violent tempest, and to involve India afresh in a sanguinary war.

In the aspect which India at this period exhibited, the most remarkable feature consisted in the marauding habits of the people by whom so large a portion of it was occupied. A new power without any place in the political system, was chiefly supported by the roving tribes called Pindarees, who carried to an extreme all the predatory usages characteristic of Mahrattahs.

The latter indeed regarded plunder as an essential part of their policy; still they had a country and a home to which they were fondly attached. Their chiefs aimed not merely to enrich themselves by booty, but also to attain political power. The Pindarees, on the contrary, were nothing more than robbers elevated by their numbers into armies, and their boast was, not that they were able to encounter disciplined troops, but that they could elude them. If overtaken or surprised, the point of honour was who could fly swiftest. No barrier arrested them; they penetrated the closest chain of military posts, and found a way even between the divisions of an army drawn up to oppose them. Obliged to pass with a celerity almost preternatural, and to employ expeditious modes of extracting treasure, they inflicted the most merciless tortures to compel the owners to yield up their concealed hoards. Red hot irons were applied to the soles of the feet; oil was thrown on the clothes and inflamed; the head was tied into a bag filled with hot ashes and dust. The proudest exploit of a Pindaree was to steal a horse; and this operation was conducted with a dexterity which might put to shame the most skilful of their fraternity in Europe. They could carry off one from the midst of a crowded camp; stretched on their bellies they crept to the spot, and lay concealed till a favourable

moment, when they cut the cords by which the horse's legs were fastened, mounted, and galloped off among the bushes with a rapidity that defied pursuit. When an enemy was distant, they divided into small parties, moving in a circular direction, so as to sweep the whole country. The chiefs annually raised their standard on the northern bank of the Nerbudda, at the termination of the rains, that they might be ready as soon as the river should become fordable to commence a general movement.

The Patan and other Mahommedan troops, who in the wreck of all the thrones occupied by their countrymen, had no longer a sovereign in whose service to fight, afforded another source whence predatory squadrons were formed and recruited. Most of them rallied round Ameer Khan, a bold and enterprising chief, who in the last war had fought under the banner of Holkar.

Though Ameer Khan formed a power distinct from the Pindarees, he easily attracted large bodies of them to any enterprise which promised to gratify their appetite for plunder. Such was the expedition which in 1809, he undertook against Berar, then governed by an effeminate and unwarlike sovereign. He would have succeeded in subverting that monarchy, had not Lord Minto wisely departed from his strictly defensive system.

A strong detachment under Colonel Close

was despatched into the territory of Nagpore, which it was notified to Ali Khan, was under British protection. That chief made a blustering and indignant reply, but was soon, by different circumstances, compelled to retreat into Malwa; and the Governor General, on further consideration, gave up the design which he had once entertained, of crushing this turbulent, and insolent marauder.

The arrangements with the Peishwa, meantime, proceeded also in a very unsatisfactory manner. That Prince began, indeed, by courting the English, and even soliciting the continuance of their subsidiary force in his territories; but his object was to regain the control which he had almost entirely lost over his dominions. Besides the provinces possessed by Sindia and other independent princes, numerous districts, especially in the south, had been parcelled out into jaghires, which, like the European fiefs in the middle ages, were held on the mere tenure of homage and military service. To make the resemblance more complete, the jaghiredars, during the recent period of public confusion, had secured for themselves a condition of almost complete independence. The Company felt considerable difficulty when applied to for aid against these chiefs, with many of whom, during the late exigencies, they had formed alliances; but notwithstanding, they

agreed to enforce over them the authority of the Peishwa, not as an absolute sovereign, but as their liege lord. As these proud chiefs, however, were little inclined to own even this imperfect obligation, they imposed on the Prince the frequent necessity of calling upon his allies to support his claims, and of declaring their possessions forfeited. Thus in a few years, principally through the aid or fear of the English, he had reduced most of these retainers, and enriched his treasury by extensive confiscation. Having completely recovered his power, and provided the necessary funds, he resolved at once to shake off the British yoke, and to re-establish his influence over the great feudatories of the Mahrattah state. For this purpose he availed himself of the services of Trimbuckjee Dainglia, a bold, able, but very dissolute minister, raised from the lowest ranks, and entirely devoted to his master's purposes.

The British Resident from the first viewed with umbrage the elevation of this personage, and was soon brought into direct collision with him. The Peishwa, among his other plans of aggrandizement, had revived certain ancient claims on the *Guickwar* or Sovereign of Guzerat, with whom also the Company had formed a subsidiary alliance. As the negotiations on this subject became extremely intricate, it was agreed that Gungadhur Sastree, the prime mi-

nister of that state, should repair to the Court of Poonah, and endeavour to place them on an intelligible basis; having, however, previously obtained a safe conduct from the English. From being supposed favourable to their interests, as well as from some personal causes, he incurred the enmity of Trimbuckjee and the Peishwa. To gratify this feeling, they prevailed upon him to accompany them to Punderpoor, where a religious festival of peculiar solemnity was to be celebrated. After their arrival Gungadhur, though indisposed, was induced to repair to the temple with a few unarmed attendants. On the way certain persons were heard asking, in a whispering tone, which was the sastree; to which it was answered, it that was he who wore the necklace; but the question, it was imagined, was prompted by mere curiosity. The minister, having performed his devotions, was returning with a diminished escort, when several men, with long twisted cloths used for the purpose, called aloud to clear the way. The sastree being thus left alone, they rushed upon him with drawn swords, and quickly pierced him with numerous wounds. Every thing conspired to render it manifest that Trimbuckjee was the author of this daring crime. The assassins had left him in the temple, whither they were seen running back with naked weapons. On the most trivial pretexts, however, he declined to submit to any

Assassination of Gungadhur.

formal investigation. In short, the inquiries of Mr. Elphinstone, the Resident, left no room to doubt that he was the direct instigator of the murder, and had obtained the full consent of Bajee Rao to its perpetration.

The British Minister, on this emergency, determined to adopt the most decisive measures, and, with the view of giving effect to the negotiation, ordered the auxiliary force to approach nearer to Poonah. The Peishwa, evidently apprehensive of being personally charged with the deed, evaded, on various grounds, all communication on the subject. At length, two persons in his confidence waited on the Resident, apparently with a view to sound his intentions. Mr. Elphinstone allowed them to understand that there was no design of fixing the crime upon the Peishwa; indeed, if he made any allusion to the rumour of Bajee's guilt, it was with the air of entire disbelief, and only to shew the necessity of his disproving it by bringing the real offender to justice. It was demanded that Trimbuckjee, who was openly charged with the murder, should, with his two principal accomplices, be placed in close confinement to await a full investigation. The Prince studiously employed every expedient to save his favourite; sometimes he endeavoured to justify him, and at other times declared it beyond his power to effect his arrest. The suspicion thus afforded

of a determination to screen the offender, induced the Resident, with the concurrence of the Governor General, to demand that he should be delivered into British custody. This proposal was of course still more revolting to the Peishwa, who began to augment his troops; and it was understood that he was on the point of making common cause with his minister,—to fly with him from the capital, and endeavour to raise the Mahrattahs against the Company. Mr. Elphinstone then considered it indispensable to order the subsidiary force to march upon Poonah; but Bajee Rao, when he saw the sword about to be drawn, lost courage, and Trimbuckjee was delivered into the hands of the English. This they considered an important triumph, having long foreseen that they must ultimately come to a rupture with this person, who had shewn a disposition the most evidently hostile; yet to have driven him from power, merely because he supported his master's interests and opposed a foreign influence, would have been extremely odious in the eyes of the nation. But the crime of Trimbuckjee, being aggravated in their view by every possible circumstance, as being committed on a Bramin of high sanctity and within the precincts of one of their holiest shrines, threw a great degree of popularity on the vigorous steps taken by the Resident for its punishment.

Arrest of Trimbuckjee.

The English conducted their prisoner to the strong fortress of Tannah, in the island of Salsette, and watched him so narrowly that they did not admit a single native into the guard. This excessive precaution was, perhaps, the very circumstance which defeated its own object. The vicinity was filled with the minister's adherents; and a groom in the service of one of the British officers, in passing near the terrace where the accused was allowed to walk, chanted gaily what was supposed to be a Hindoo song, but which really communicated a plan contrived for his escape. Through a small gap in the wall of the edifice, he reached a stable; and not being missed for a few minutes, succeeded in crossing the narrow channel which separates Salsette from the continent. He immediately hastened to the Southern districts, where he began to levy troops, and raise the whole country against the English.

The Peishwa avowed total ignorance of the course taken by Trimbuckjee after his escape, as well as of the place of his retreat; and as no proof could be obtained of the falsehood of these declarations, the good understanding between the two states was not at first interrupted. Bajee's conduct, however, became more and more unsatisfactory. Troops were indeed sent, ostensibly to put down the insurrection; but they reported that they could not find an ene-

my; and, in fact, they held a friendly communication with the very individual whom they professed to view in that character. The British Resident learned that the Prince was in active correspondence with the insurgents; that he had held an interview with Trimbuckjee at a village seventeen miles from Poonah; and had even forwarded to him liberal supplies of money; being at the same time employed in military preparations, with the intention, as was suspected, of co-operating with him. Secret negotiations were also carried on with Sindia, Holkar, and other Mahrattah Chiefs, for the purpose of uniting the whole confederation for the overthrow of British power. All remonstrances relative to these proceedings having been met by a positive denial, as well as by a refusal to adopt any of the measures demanded as proofs of an amicable disposition, it was thought inconsistent with sound policy to allow this combination to reach maturity. Mr. Elphinstone ordered the subsidiary force to advance upon Poonah, and gave notice to the Peishwa, that hostilities would commence within twenty-four hours, unless three of his strongest fortresses, Singurh, Rayree, and Poorundur, should be provisionally placed in the hands of the English, and assurance given that within a month, Trimbuckjee would again be delivered up. Bajee Rao delayed some time to give any an-

swer; at length, with that infirmity of purpose which usually appeared in the hour of danger, he agreed unconditionally to all these terms. The fortresses were surrendered, and a price set on the head of the minister. Still the Resident gave warning, that these concessions could not be considered as final; that the Peishwa had forfeited the confidence of the Company, and could not expect the treaty of Bassein to be renewed, unless under modifications, the extent of which must depend upon the next despatch from the Governor-General. Accordingly it was soon after announced, that amicable relations could only be restored on the following terms: —That the subsidiary force should be augmented by 5000 horse, and 3000 infantry, for the maintenance of which, territories yielding a revenue of 34 lacs of rupees must be ceded; that in this cession the strong city of Ahmednugger should be included; that his Highness should renounce the character of head of the Mahrattah confederacy, and cease to hold direct communication with any of the native powers. These severe conditions the Peishwa sought by every effort to mitigate or elude; but as the Resident remained inflexible, a treaty to this effect was signed on the 13th June, 1817.

Arrival of Marquis of Hastings.

In carrying on the narrative of the transactions at Poonah, we have been led beyond the commencement of the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, who arrived in India in the end of

the year 1813. In that year, on the 22d of March, the House of Commons resolved itself into a committee to consider the petition of the East India Company for a renewal of their Charter. Evidence was heard at the bar of the House, the minutes of which, with that delivered before the House of Lords, form two large quarto volumes, and contain much interesting information on the affairs of India, and the commerce with that country, and with China. On the 16th of June, leave was granted to bring in a bill for continuing the possession, government, and management of the territorial acquisitions in the East Indies to the Company. The report was brought up on the first of July, when it was moved to limit the term as to the China trade to ten, instead of twenty years, which was negatived by sixty-nine to twenty-nine. The third reading took place on the 13th of July, and the bill received the royal assent on the 21st of July, 1813.

Renewal of the Company's Charter, passed 1813.

In the same year, a most important change took place in the principles, upon which the trade with India had been conducted for upwards of two centuries. The negotiations for a renewal of the Company's exclusive privileges commenced in the year 1808. The arguments advanced by their executive body, in support of the system which had so long prevailed, are to be found in the voluminous correspondence which was carried on between His Majesty's Ministers,

and the Court of Directors, up to the time when the act of the 53d George III. cap. 155, was passed, opening to the public the trade with India, under certain restrictions as to the size of the ships employed in it, which were not to be of less burthen than 350 tons; to be furnished with a license, and in the first instance, to touch in the outward voyage at a principal settlement, unless a special license had been obtained to proceed direct to a minor port.

53rd George III. c. 155, passed, opening the Trade to India.

By this act, the China trade is reserved to the Company, until three years' notice given by Parliament, any time after the 10th of April, 1831, and upon the discharge of the debt due to the Company: the Company, however, continuing an incorporated body, and enjoying the right of trading, as granted to them by the 9th and 10th of William III., 33rd George III., and by the 53rd George III. c. 155.

The Company empowered by this Act to continue an incorporated body, to enjoy their original rights of trade.

In the 20th clause of this act a power was reserved to the Legislature for authorizing further extension of private trade, during the further term granted to the Company. By this act heavy penalties are imposed upon any British subject who shall proceed to India without license from the Court of Directors, or Board of Control.

The restrictions on private trade, imposed by 53rd George III. c. 155, have been since much relaxed by the 4th of George IV. c. 80.

53 George III. c. 155.

By the 53rd George III. c. 155, it is provided, that the revenues arising from territorial acquisitions in India, are to be applied.

Section 55.—1st. In maintaining forces.

2d. In payment of the interest of debt.

3d. In defraying the expenses of establishments, civil, and commercial.

4th. In liquidation of the territorial debt; and of the bond debt at home; or for such other purposes as the Directors and Board may think fit.

Section 56.—A sum equal to the payments made in England from the Commercial Funds, on account of territorial charges, may be advanced out of the revenue in India, for the expenses of the investment.

Section 57.—The commercial profits of the Company are to be applied,

1st. In paying bills of exchange accepted.

2d. In providing for the current payment of other debts (the principal of the bond debt excepted) with their interest, and of the commercial outgoings, charges, and expenses.

3rdly. In payment of a dividend of ten and a half per cent.

4th. In reduction of India debt, on bond debt at home.

Section 58.—The profits are not liable to territorial charges, till after the dividend has been provided for, except to bills, and certificates for

value received in India. If the home funds are insufficient, after the dividend has been paid, to discharge the bills drawn for interest of Indian debt, the deficiency is to be paid as Parliament shall direct. If, in any year, the commercial profits are insufficient, the dividend may be made good out of the surplus territorial revenue.

By the Charter of King William, granted in 1698, the Company are required to maintain an ecclesiastical establishment in India; chaplains had accordingly been nominated by the Court of Directors to their several Presidencies, and to their Factory in China.

Among the resolutions submitted by Lord Castlereagh to the House of Commons, in 1813, there was one declaring it to be expedient that the Church Establishment in the British territories in the East Indies, should be placed under the superintendence of a Bishop, and three Archdeacons; and that adequate provision should be made from the territorial revenues of India for their maintenance. It was at the same time remarked, that provision ought to be made for the maintenance of some members of the Scotch Church. On an assurance that every disposition would be shewn by the East India Company to support the Scotch Church in India, the proposed resolution was agreed to. The 49th and four following sections of the 53 Geo. III. cap. 155, were accordingly passed,

49th Section of 53 Geo. III. c. 155, passed.

providing, that should his Majesty be pleased by his letters-patent, under the great Seal, to erect, found, and constitute one Bishoprick for the whole of the British territories in the East Indies, and three Archdeaconries, certain salaries should be paid out of the Indian revenue at a specified rate of exchange, to commence from the time the parties respectively take upon them their several offices.

A Bishoprick established in India, 1813.

The letters-patent were accordingly issued on the 2d of May, 1814, by which the British territories in India, were constituted, and ordained to be a Bishop's See, to be called the Bishoprick of Calcutta; and to be subject and subordinate to the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury, in the same manner as any Bishop of any See within the province of Canterbury. And for aiding the Bishop, an Archdeaconry was established at the three Presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, and Bombay, subject, and subordinate the Bishop's See.

Letters-patent issued, 2d May, 1814, constituting a Bishop's See in India, and 3 Archdeaconries.

The Marquis of Hastings soon indicated a disposition to resume the more active scheme of government so ably pursued by the Marquis Wellesley. He appeared resolved to suppress the growing power of the predatory associations, to renew the alliances with the Rajpoot and other minor Chiefs, and generally to establish the control of the English over the Indian states. His attention, however, was for a time

drawn off by movements in a new, and somewhat unexpected quarter.

Rupture with Nepaul.

The extensive region which slopes downward from the summit of Himmaleh to the plain of Hindostan has always been occupied by fierce and warlike tribes. Being, however, as formerly described, broken into a number of narrow valleys separated by steep and lofty ridges, it had been parcelled out among various independent chiefs, never before united in such a way as to prove dangerous to the central kingdoms. Lately, however, the Gorkhas, a rude but brave race of men, led by a warlike commander, had conquered the valleys of Nepaul, the finest which intersect the magnificent range of the Himmaleh. Thither they transferred the seat of their government, and having by a skilful policy conciliated the neighbouring princes, had made this acquisition a step to farther conquest. They accordingly proceeded to subdue different chiefs, till their territory extended above 800 miles in length, and comprehended nearly the whole mountain-region of Northern India. They then cast a longing eye over the wide plain that spreads beneath, covered with all the riches of tropical cultivation, and capable of affording an ample revenue. Being generally superior to the native troops, both in courage and discipline, they might, perhaps in favourable circumstances have founded an empire equal to that of

Aurengzebe. They had, however, to encounter not the fallen fragments of Mogul greatness, nor the loose squadrons of Mahrattah horse, but the disciplined strength of that new power which had become paramount in Hindostan. The British, by the numerous victories gained in the last war, had extended their boundaries along nearly the whole line of this mountain-domain. The Gorkhas, on seeing their career thus checked, hesitated for some time whether they should commit themselves against so formidable an adversary. Meanwhile they appropriated certain small portions of territory, on which, by the vague tenures prevalent in that country, they might found some ancient claim. Repeated complaints being made, they at length agreed that deputies from either side should meet in order to examine and decide the pretensions to the land in dispute. The commissioners assembled; but those of Nepaul, it is alleged, shewed a singular insensibility to the clearest proof of the total absence of all right on their part to the favoured spots of which they had taken possession; and even where they were obliged to yield, the supreme authority evaded or retracted its sanction. At length the Governor General, considering the claim to a particular district most clearly established, sent a detachment, which provisionally occupied it, till these endless discussions should terminate.

The Nepaulese did not at first oppose this movement; but as soon as the troops had retired during the unhealthy season, leaving only a small post to guard the frontier, they advanced in force and drove out the party, of whom several were killed and wounded. After this there was no longer room to hesitate as to the immediate necessity of warlike operations.

Checks sustained by the English.

Ameer Sing, the able and enterprising commander of the Nepaulese, on grounds which it seems impossible fully to understand or justify, had taken post on the western extremity of their conquests. Lord Hastings, who, in 1814, sent into the field a force of 30,000 men, availing himself of the position assumed by the enemy, formed the plan of enclosing his army, and cutting it off from the central territories. Generals Ochterlony and Gillespie, at the head of their respective divisions, marched, the one to attack Ameer in front, the other to occupy the passes by which he might effect his retreat. The latter speedily penetrated into the Deyra Dhoon, one of the finest valleys which diversify the Himmaleh, and the main channel of communication between the Eastern and Western districts. Somewhat unexpectedly he found this passage commanded by the fortress of Kalunga, or Nalapanee, rendered formidable, not by artificial bulwarks, but by its position on the top of a hill, where it could only be approached

through a thick and entangled jungle. That gallant officer, however, perceiving that this post formed the key of the territory, hesitated not to attack it. He divided his army into four detachments, who, advancing from different points, were to meet at the summit, and engage in a common assault. Such a plan is at first view imposing; yet it appears founded on false principles, and in practice is likely to prove extremely perilous. The chances are many, that the different corps will not all reach their destination at the same moment; and if one arrive before the others, it will have to encounter the undivided attack of the enemy's force. Such was the case now; one division, making their way through every difficulty, arrived in front of Kalunga before they could be supported by the rest of the army. The General then came up, and seeing his troops thus exposed to the whole fire of the besieged, led them at once to the assault, hoping, with this corps alone, to carry the place. They accordingly dislodged the outposts, and arrived under the very walls; but were twice driven back by showers of grape-shot, arrows, and destructive missiles peculiar to Indian warfare. Gillespie, however, determining to carry the fort, or die, placed himself at the head of the storming-party, and cheered them on, waving his hat, and pointing with his sword to the gate. At this moment a ball

pierced his heart,—he fell; and all hopes of success were at once abandoned. The arrival of another division served only to cover the retreat of the former. Colonel Mawbey, however, who succeeded to the command, felt deeply the importance that this first and great military operation should not be finally abortive. But he was obliged to delay his meditated attack on that obstinate stronghold till a battering-train was procured from Delhi. Three days afterwards a breach was effected, and an assault commenced, under the command of Major Ingleby; but the resolute defence, and formidable fire of the garrison, again baffled every effort. The batteries, however, continued to play, till the walls, which were by no means lofty, were reduced almost to a heap of ruins; and the natives then evacuated the place which they had so gallantly defended. General Martindale, who now took the command, advanced to attack the enemy stationed at the strong fort of Jytuk; but here again the British troops, through their too impetuous valour, were thrown into confusion, and obliged to fall back with considerable loss. At the same time, the army which was attempting to penetrate direct into Nepaul, through the district of Sarun had two of its detachments surrounded and cut off; so that operations on that side were completely paralysed.

Death of Major General Gillespie.

These events produced an alarming sensation at Calcutta, while they were received with the highest exultation in all the native courts, which were watching for an opportunity to effect the downfal of British power in India. Movements were made by Sindia and other princes, which seemed to call for an increase of the corps of observation stationed in their territories. Yet the Marquis of Hastings judiciously considered, that to obtain some decisive success over the Nepaulese, and compel them to sue for peace, was the only mode by which the evil could be remedied. He, therefore, augmented and concentrated his force on the theatre of war. General Ochterlony, hitherto checked by the losses of the division that was to act in combination with him, began vigorous operations on the offensive. He had already compelled Ameer Sing to retire from the heights of Ramghur to those of Malown, which were also exceedingly strong. He had likewise reduced Ramghur, Bellaspore, and the other fastnesses, which commanded this mountain-region. At the same time the province of Kemaoon being left unprotected, a detachment was sent under Colonel Nicolls, who besieged, and, on the 25th April, 1815, took Almora, its capital. Ameer, being now closely confined to his fortified post at Malown, was obliged to capitulate, though on honourable terms, being allowed to join the main army with the troops under his charge.

The Government of Nepaul were so deeply discouraged by these reverses, that notwithstanding the opposition of several Chiefs, and particularly of Ameer Sing, who proposed even to seek support from the Emperor of China, they determined to open a negotiation. The terms demanded by Lord Hastings were high, including the cession of all the provinces conquered in the West, and also of the Terace or Tarryani, the border of jungle which extends along the base of the mountains. This last article formed the chief obstacle to the treaty, not so much on account of the actual value of the territory, as because most of the principal Chiefs at Court had assignments of land in it, from which they derived their income. The Marquis, considering the point to be of little consequence, had made up his mind, and given directions that it should not stand in the way of the treaty. Unluckily the Nepaulese ambassadors had agreed to the terms and signed them, but when transmitted for ratification, the Court was induced on the above grounds, to refuse its consent. In such circumstances, there appeared no longer room for the intended concession; and no option was left but the renewal of war. This was attended with considerable inconvenience, since, in confident expectation of peace, the preparations had not only been relaxed, but even part of the military stores sold off; how-

Nepaul war renewed.

ever, extraordinary exertions were made, and the army, in January, 1816, was again ready to take the field.

The enemy had intrenched themselves in the strong pass of Chereea-Ghatee, which formed the entrance into their mountain-territory; but General Ochterlony, by a skilful though laborious march, turned this position, and penetrated to Muckwanpoor, in the vicinity of which they had erected several forts and stockades. Two successive defeats convinced them of the vanity of their attempt to contend with British troops; they made overtures for a fresh negotiation, in which all the points in dispute were yielded; and in March a definitive treaty was concluded. The Governor-General was then with a good grace able to grant, as a matter of favour, most of the districts for the possession of which they had been so extremely solicitous.

The contest with Nepaul having been brought to a successful termination, the Marquis of Hastings turned his views to that new system of policy, which he was desirous to establish with regard to the central powers of India. It consisted partly in the renewal and extension of subsidiary alliances with the native princes, partly in the extirpation of the predatory states which had arisen in the heart of the empire. In the former view, overtures from Bhopal,

when threatened by Sindia and the Rajah of Berar, were at first well received; but, amid the distractions occasioned by the Nepaul contest, it became necessary that they should be courteously evaded. A negotiation was opened with the Rajpoot Prince of Jyepore, who had made heavy complaints of having, in 1806, been deserted by the English, and exposed to the depredations of the Holkar family and other plundering tribes. The treaty for some time proceeded with promptitude; but, the very knowledge that he was about to be supported by the English having overawed his enemies and averted the present danger, the deep-rooted jealousy always cherished by the native sovereigns respecting the admission of foreign troops soon revived. A powerful party exclaimed against the ministers by whom the treaty was conducted, as betrayers of their country; and they thought it expedient, by advancing conditions that were inadmissible, to prevent its final conclusion.

Treaty with Berar.

This disappointment was compensated by a more fortunate occurrence in another quarter. Raghojee Bhonslay, Rajah of Berar, died, leaving a son, Pursajee, so infirm, both in mind and body, as to be incapable of maintaining even the semblance of royalty. In these circumstances, Appa Saheb, his cousin, and also presumptive heir, assumed the authority of Re-

gent, to which he seemed to possess a legitimate claim. Another Chief, however, Dhurmajee Bhonsla, having formed a powerful party, rendered it doubtful whether Appa would be able to maintain himself without foreign aid. The latter, therefore, made overtures to the British for a subsidiary alliance, coupled with the condition of supporting him in the administration. This, in the present temper of the Councils at Calcutta, was most readily granted. The stipulated force was to consist of six battalions of infantry and one regiment of cavalry, partly attached to the Regent's person; for the maintenance of which the annual amount of 7½ lacs of rupees was to be received in money-payments, instead of the invidious mode of territorial cession. This treaty, according to Mr. Prinsep, was viewed at Calcutta with the highest exultation, as an arrangement by which the state of Berar was finally detached from the Maḥrattah confederacy, and fixed in the British interests; and not as what it really was, namely, a mere expedient for the attainment of personal objects, and to be thrown aside as soon as these were accomplished.

The occupation of Berar afforded great facilities for operations against the predatory powers, whose main rallying-point was in Malwa, a hilly tract to the northward of the Nerbudda. The Governor General, however, had not yet ob-

tained permission to root them out of that strong country, and was obliged to content himself with drawing a cordon along the southern bank of the Nerbudda, by which he hoped to prevent them from penetrating into the Deccan. Unfortunately for themselves, Cheetoo and other Chiefs had at this time acquired a considerable increase of strength. They had been left for several years nearly unmolested; and had even received secret assurances of support from the principal Mahrattah Chieftains, who were meditating a fresh attempt, with the aid of the Pindarees, to subvert the ascendancy of Britain. They were, however, considerably alarmed by the appearance of the force stationed on the Nerbudda; but seeing it remain inactive, while they themselves had mustered 23,000 cavalry, they conceived it possible to penetrate at some point the extended line along which the English were posted. Accordingly, with 10,000 horsemen, they crossed on the extreme right with such rapidity, that our infantry were unable either to arrest or overtake them. They then separated into two *lubhurs* or plundering bands, one of which proceeded due south into the territory of the Nizam, and reached the banks of the Godavery. The other marched eastward, and entered the Company's territory of Ganjam, where, in the course of twelve days the preceding year, they had killed and wounded nearly

Inroads of the Pindarees.

700 persons, and carried off or destroyed property to the value of 100,000*l*. A third party crossed at Burhanpoor, and overran the territory of the Peishwa to some distance beyond Poonah.

The Pindarees had thus eluded the regular force appointed to check their inroad: yet though they were still liable to be attacked by several detached corps that were scouring the country in different directions, they never stationed sentries, or took any similar precaution against an evil to which they were always exposed. While the large body who had reached the Godavery were deliberating on their future course, Major M'Dowal, with a body of light troops, came upon them so unexpectedly, that they had received a discharge of fire-arms before almost a man of them was mounted; and they were obliged to fly, abandoning nearly all their horses and booty. One bold Chieftain, with 260 troopers, crossed the Peninsula, swept along the western shore, and ascending the Tuptee, reached his home with less indeed than half his original number, but all of them carrying in their saddles a rich booty. Major Lushington again, learning that the other party had passed Poonah, made a march of fifty miles, came upon them while busied in cooking, and gave them so complete a defeat that only a few escaped. In Ganjam, too, they met with seve-

The Pindarees surprised and defeated.

ral surprises, in one of which Lieutenant Borthwick beat up their camp with only fifty men. They abandoned their attempt to penetrate into the territory of Cuttack; and learning that a plan was formed to intercept their return, they endeavoured to effect their object by a circuitous route through Bundelcund, in the course of which Colonel Adams and other officers inflicted upon them very severe losses.

Although this campaign had been in some measure successful and even triumphant, it afforded reason to apprehend that India could never be secure from the inroad of these marauders, so long as they should have a place of secure retreat. Upwards of 30,000 troops had been employed against them, a number adequate to a regular war on the greatest scale, and involving an immense expenditure; yet they had penetrated through a strong line of defence, while their subsequent failure was occasioned only by an undue security, which they would probably learn to correct. The permission granted by the Government at home to prosecute the war against them was far from being unlimited; but the Marquis trusted that the events which had occurred during this campaign, and the success which he hoped would still attend his measures, would secure for him the sanction of the Company.

About the middle of the year 1817, the Go-

vernor-General put in motion the most numerous and efficient army that had ever, perhaps, taken the field in India. Its entire amount is estimated at about 81,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry; of which 75,000 advanced from the Deccan and Guzerat, and 34,000 from Bengal through Hindostan Proper. To the corps from the Deccan were attached 13,000 irregular cavalry, and to that from Bengal 10,000 of the same force, many of them good troops. The main body of the Bengal army, under the immediate command of the Marquis of Hastings, assembled at Secundra, and proceeded to cross the Jumna near Calpay. Another corps was instructed to pass that river at Agra; while two smaller divisions were to act on the flanks, and to connect this with the other armies. The Deccan force was to advance in two divisions under Generals Hislop and Sir John Malcolm; Colonel Adams led the regiments from Berar, while Generals Doveton and Smith took post in the rear, ready either to support the main body, or crush any commotion that might arise at Poonah or Nagpore. General Keir meantime led the army of Guzerat into Malwa. All these divisions formed a complete circle around the Pindaree positions, closing in upon them as upon a common centre. This system of tactics, which in contending with disciplined forces is accompanied with the danger that the enemy,

Hostile preparations.

availing himself of his central position, may successively attack and beat the different corps advancing against him, was attended with no such hazard when directed against troops who never encountered an adversary in pitched battle, whose sole aim was escape, and to whom flight was victory. It was by such a movement only that they could be enclosed and finally crushed.

There was one circumstance attending this campaign which could not be regarded without some degree of alarm, namely, that it led our army into the territories of princes who viewed with the most rancorous jealousy the height to which the British power had now attained. All of them saw in its success the downfal of their own ambitious hopes, and even of their independence, and anxiously watched the favourable moment for striking a blow. Even the Courts of Nagpore and Hydrabad, notwithstanding the treaties by which they professed to be bound, could not by any means be relied upon. But the Pindaree war was to be carried on in the dominions of Sindia and Holkar, the most deadly foes to the British name. Of the former Sir John Malcolm justly observes, that he never could be expected to forget the loss of empire sustained through Britain: "All his habits, his prejudices, his wishes, are against us; we have nothing in our favour but his fears. His faith and his promises cannot be relied on for a

moment." It appears indeed that Cheetoo, the principal leader of the Pindarees, had made urgent applications to be merely allowed a place where his family might be secured from danger; adding, "from it my heart may be set at ease, and I may face the English with confidence. Then for once, by the blessing of God and the fortune of the exalted, the tumult shall be spread to the environs of Calcutta, the whole country shall be consigned to ashes, and to such distress shall they be reduced, that the accounts will not fail to reach you; but at present this must be delayed for want of a place of refuge." To this Sindia's ministers replied, that they could not take such a step without an immediate rupture with the British Government; but that Cheetoo might depend on their utmost aid in secret. In these circumstances Lord Hastings considered it indispensable, before leaving Sindia's dominions behind him, to extort his consent to such a treaty as might withdraw from him the means of a hostile interposition in the approaching conflict. Captain Close, the Resident at Gwalior, was instructed to demand that he should place his troops entirely at the disposal of the British Government; that he should furnish a contingent of 5000 horse, and supply funds out of which they might be supported; finally, that he should provisionally deliver up the forts of Hindia and Asseerghur, on which

Treaty with Sindia.

to save his honour, his flag would continue to fly. There was even to be a private understanding, that while the contest lasted, he should not quit his capital. Sindia manifested the most violent opposition, first to the English entering his dominions at all, and then to the terms attached to that movement; nor was it till Lord Hastings from one quarter, and General Donkin from another, were each within a day's march of his frontier that the treaty was reluctantly signed.

Treaty with Ameer Khan.

A negotiation was next opened with Ameer Khan, and, as he was a principal member of the confederation, it was made a primary article that he should disband the whole of his turbulent corps. This demand was severe, for he would thereby lose that on which his importance and power had been entirely founded. In return he was offered the guarantee of the territories held by him under grants from Holkar, and of which his tenure was otherwise very precarious. Having submitted to the terms, the treaty was signed by his agent at Delhi, on condition that a month should be allowed previous to ratification; but the stipulated period had elapsed, and a British army had enclosed him on each side, before he would affix his name to it. His troops being then disbanded, he seemed thenceforth to place his hopes of aggrandizement

solely in the English alliance, and cordially exerted himself in promoting its objects.

The Pindaree chiefs could not view this immense force, especially when it began to close in around them, without the deepest alarm. While the rainy season yet suspended operations, they held frequent conferences on the state of their affairs. Their only hope, they were convinced, was to quit their present haunts and seek a temporary home in some remote quarter of India. But it was difficult to find a secure place in which to deposit their property and families; for even amid their wandering life they were still susceptible of the strongest domestic attachments. This embarrassment and the violent dissensions which had long reigned between their two principal heads, Kurreem and Cheetoo, caused them to break up without having formed any fixed plan. The invading armies began to move as soon as the rains had abated, and while the swelling of the rivers might yet impede the rapid movements of their adversaries.

Appearance of Cholera.

The opening of the campaign, meantime, was retarded by two very unexpected circumstances. The first was the appearance in the main army of that terrible epidemic, usually denominated *cholera spasmodica*, which, after spreading desolation and dismay throughout India, and occa-

signing a very serious loss of life in the eastern parts of Europe, has at length penetrated into Britain, and entered the capitals both of England and Scotland. In its first progress, it struck the world as a new and unheard-of visitation; but further researches have established, that the same disease has from time to time appeared in the East. Ancient writings, in the language of Southern India, describe it very distinctly under the names of Sitanga or Vishúchi. Extensive ravages are represented to have been committed by it in Bengal in 1762; in a division of troops which in 1781 were marching through the district of Ganjam; and in 1783, during the annual festival at Hurdwar. In 1787, a malady, the symptoms of which clearly establish its identity, prevailed at Vellore and Arcot on the coast of Coromandel. It had not, however, during a long period, assumed any formidable shape, and in the comprehensive tables published by the medical board at Madras, the column for cholera spasmodica in 1815 and the two following years exhibits nearly a continued blank.

This disorder first shewed itself, in Aug. 1817, in the zillah of Jessore, about 60 miles north-east of Calcutta, in the marshy districts which form the Delta of the Ganges. The whole of the tract extending along the lower course of that river is intersected by numberless branches of its stream, whence are derived canals and tanks

that diffuse the benefit of irrigation almost to every field. These artificial channels, however, are often in bad repair, and filled with stagnant water, while even the river itself at certain seasons has not current sufficient to preserve its salubrious qualities. Added to this, the extreme violence of the heat in summer, and of the rains in winter, render the whole of this part of Bengal liable to fevers and other climatic disorders. When any of these atmospheric phenomena occur in an extraordinary degree, and especially when, by injuring the cultivated fields, they render the grain scarce and bad, epidemics of the most malignant description are frequently generated. The years 1815 and 1816 were distinguished by very striking peculiarities of season and weather. In the May of the latter year, the heat became most intense, the thermometer rose to 98 degrees in the shade, and various persons, both European and native, fell down dead in the streets. A deficiency in the periodical rains was also apprehended till the beginning of September, when there poured down a complete deluge, causing a more extensive inundation than was recollected by the oldest inhabitant. This was followed by attacks of low typhus fever, and of a malignant sore throat,—a disorder formerly unknown in that region, but believed on this occasion to be contagious.

The year 1817 was from the first uncommonly moist, and the regular rains began on the 25th May, about three weeks before the usual period. They fell to a depth greater by one-third than in ordinary years; so that, before the middle of August, nearly the whole district composing the Delta of the Ganges was one sheet of water. It was during the distempered state of the air thus produced, that the malignant cholera broke forth on a scale hitherto quite unprecedented. The disease, either in its common or violent form, appeared nearly at the same time in different parts of Bengal. But it was in Jessore, situated in the tract called the Sunderbunds, filled with thick jungle and surrounded by stagnant waters, that it assumed its most alarming aspect. At Calcutta, during the month of August, many cases of common cholera had occurred; but at the beginning of September it appeared in that city under its most malignant type; though whether it was imported from Jessore, or rose spontaneously under similar circumstances, is a question not yet decided. It spared Europeans for a few days, but began to attack them on the 5th, though without committing the same dreadful ravages as in the native town; yet the register of one of the life insurance societies exhibited a proportion of deaths four times as great as in the preceding years. The malady was diffused almost simultaneously through the

different cities of Bengal, rapidly ascended the Ganges, and spread even to the west of the Jumna; sparing, however, the comparatively elevated territories of Oude and Rohilcund.

Cholera in the British camp.

In the beginning of November in consequence, as is supposed by some, of the arrival of a detachment from the lower province, this disease in its most virulent form broke out in the army under the immediate command of the Marquis of Hastings. Troops on a march are observed to be peculiarly liable to its attack, which is imputed to the extreme heat of the tents, doubtless combined with the great exposure to the atmosphere. The cholera appeared in this army as it was slowly marching through the low and unhealthy district of Bundelcund, which labours under a peculiar deficiency of good water. For about ten days it converted the camp into a large hospital. All the public establishments being engrossed by the care of the troops, the numerous camp-followers could not be accommodated except in the tents of their masters, who formed also their only attendants. The route over which the army [illegible]d was strewed with the dead and dying; the bazars were deserted; even those persons whose health was good suffered under severe depression of spirits; so that during the above period the efficiency of this fine body of men was completely destroyed. The usual bustle and hum of a

crowded camp was changed into an awful silence, only broken by the groans of the dying, and lamentations over the dead. In the European patient death usually followed in from six to twelve hours after the attack, while the sepoy was carried off in about half that interval. The malady raged with its utmost fury from the 15th to the 23d November, when it ceased almost at once; so that the army having reached a more salubrious camp, at Erich on the Betwa, became rapidly convalescent, and by the commencement of December were prepared to enter on the duties of the campaign.

The loss sustained during this most gloomy period has been very greatly exaggerated. It has been represented even by good authorities as amounting to three, five, or even eight thousand,* out of the whole number of ten thousand. More precise statements by Mr. Prinsep and Mr. Kennedy, derived from personal and official knowledge, prove this inaccuracy to have arisen from the not taking into account the vast crowd of camp-followers, who, in an Indian army, always greatly outnumber the fighting-men. When the proper distinction is made, it appears that the deaths among the 10,000 troops amounted only to 764; while the loss among

* Bisset Hawkins' History of Cholera, p. 169.

the camp-followers was about 8000, which did not, however, exceed a tenth of their entire number.

Diffusion of Cholera.

We cannot here follow in detail the progress of this severe malady, which made its way in every direction. After having spared in its first progress the provinces of Oude and Rohilcund, it reached them in April and May 1818, and in the following months penetrated to Catmandoo, Almora, and other very elevated positions on the chain of Himmaleh.

The march of armies into the centre of India, and the despatches sent through every province of that country, were supposed to diffuse more and more widely its fatal influence. The natives, instead of using any rational means of cure or prevention, sought to avert it only by pompous and crowded visits to the temples, which increased the danger of communication; or by sanguinary proceedings against certain persons who were suspected of producing it by witchcraft. In the course of the year 1818 it spread through every part of India. The report of the medical board at Madras contains an interesting map, shewing its track through the Deccan and the South by an irregular course, sometimes along the high roads, sometimes in cross directions; but, in the end, leaving scarcely any point of importance untouched. It reached Nagpore on the 15th May,—Bombay,

by way of Poonah, on the 14th August.—Hydrabad on 25th July,—Madras on 8th October,—and finally the extreme stations of Trivander and Palamcotta in January 1819. Throughout these provinces it manifested itself in various degrees of intensity. In general, however, this dreadful disease seems to be marked, rather by the fatality of its action on those attacked than by the great number who came under its influence The entire amount of cases occurring in the army of Fort St. George during 1818, the most severe year, was 1087 out of 10,652 Europeans, and 3314 out of 58,764 natives. Of the former 232, and of the latter 664 died. (Report of Madras Medical Board, p. 28.) In the Island of Bombay, which contains a population of about 210,000, the ascertained cases were 15,945, of which 14,651 were medically treated, and the deaths among these were only 938, or $6\frac{4}{10}$ per cent.,—perhaps the smallest proportion of mortality that has any where been observed. (Bombay Report, App. pp. 13, 14.) Instances, however, are given of single corps, particularly on a march, suffering much more severely. The 2d battalion 20th regiment of native infantry was marching to Hydrabad, when of about 1150 men, 200 were attacked, and 73 died. The 1st battalion 1st regiment, on its road from Nagpore to Hydrabad, out of 1010 men had 167 attacked, of whom 64 died. His majesty's 54th regiment,

after landing at Madras, when proceeding to Bangalore, had 159 out of 632 attacked, and 54 died.

Another unexpected crisis arrested Sir Thomas Hislop with the army of the Deccan, just as he had arrived on the frontier of Malwa. Intelligence then reached him that Bajee Rao had taken up arms and attacked the British Residency in his capital. Sir Thomas then judged it necessary to fall back, that he might support the reserve corps, and aid in the suppression of this insurrection. General Sir W. G. Keir, who had advanced from Guzerat, was induced by the same information to retreat. But Lord Hastings justly considered that the fortune of the campaign must ultimately depend upon the prompt success of the operations in Central India, and conceiving Smith's force, with another under Pritzler, quite sufficient at present to overcome the Peishwa, ordered these commanders to return without delay to the scene of action.

Defeats of the Pindarees.

The Pindarees, as soon as they saw themselves completely enclosed by the advancing corps of the British, made no attempt at resistance, and studied only how to escape. One party succeeded in penetrating into the rear of our army in Bundelcund, where they began to commit serious ravages, and were not dispersed without some difficulty. Cheetoo, with nearly

8000 men, effected a march westward into the territory of Mewar, where he was assured of support from several quarters, and had the strong mountain-fort of Kumulner as a refuge for his family. The escape of the Pindaree chiefs, when so strong a force surrounded them, Colonel Blacker explains by a reference to the defective means of conveyance possessed by the British; to their having, in the dread of encountering a Mahrattah army, encumbered themselves with ordnance; and above all, to the agility of the native horses, which can pass over the most rugged roads and uneven ground with great speed. Kurreem, with one of his associates, attempted to push his way to Gwalior, where he hoped to find support from Sindia. All the passes in this direction, however, were most strictly guarded; and a strong corps was appointed to watch the motions of that ruler, whose secret enmity to the British was so fully understood. The first that came up with this body of Pindarees was General Marshall, who easily drove them before him. They escaped without much loss, but were obliged to change their direction, and march for the territory of Jyepore, where they hoped to be joined by some of the disbanded troops of Ameer Khan. On their way thither they were surprised by General Donkin, who gave them a complete overthrow, capturing the wife of Kurreem, with all

his state-elephants and kettle-drums. His army, therefore, no longer attempted to preserve any appearance of regularity, but broke into detachments, and sought for safety by flying in various directions. The greater number endeavoured to reach the corps of Cheetoo; and, accordingly, the final destruction of that warrior appeared all that was necessary to finish the Pindaree contest, when there started up another head of the hydra which the English were labouring to vanquish.

The councils of the house of Holkar had been involved for some time in the utmost confusion. Jeswunt Rao, who had raised that family to power, after the unfortunate issue of the war with the British, became deranged, and died in a few years. His heir Mulhar Rao was a mere boy, and the administration during his minority was agitated by the most violent dissensions. The chief parties were, on one side Toolsee Bhye, widow to the late Holkar, who had been invested with the office of regent; and on the other the Patan chiefs, who were strongly attached to the predatory system. The queen-regent, with the view of maintaining her influence, made secret overtures to the English for receiving a subsidiary force. This measure was strongly opposed by the leaders just named, whose sentiments were shared by the military in general; and their influence was so strongly felt

by her majesty, that she did not venture to proceed with the negotiation. The chiefs, however, being suspicious that something of that nature was still in progress, were fired with such indignation, that they seized Toolsee Bhye, carried her down to the river, and put her to death. War was then only delayed till the completion of the necessary preparations. Troops, especially infantry, were collected with the utmost diligence, and their movements assumed so formidable an aspect, that Sir John Malcolm judged it advisable to fall back upon the corps of General Hislop, who, as already mentioned, had begun a retrograde movement, but was again advancing towards Poonah. These commanders having effected a junction, proceeded together, and found the native army strongly posted at Mehidpoor, with a steep bank in front, at the foot of which flowed the river Soopra, passable only by a single ford. Although this position might have been turned by a circuitous march, General Hislop considered such an advantage more than counterbalanced by the impression which would be produced by pushing on promptly and directly to the attack. This mode of proceeding, as Colonel Blacker observes, is better suited than more scientific manœuvres to the genius of English troops. A scene then ensued, similar to that which usually took place in Mahrattah battles; the British

Battle of Mehidpoor.

regiments rushing forward with the most daring intrepidity in the face of a numerous artillery, by which they severely suffered, and at length, when they came to a close charge, carrying all before them. They lost 174 killed, and 604 wounded; there being among the former three, and among the latter thirty-five European officers. The Mahrattahs, though they left 3000 on the field, retreated with a great part of their army entire; but they abandoned all the artillery; their courage and confidence were gone; and though their numbers were not greatly diminished, they were no longer an army. The chiefs therefore at once accepted the offered terms; namely, that young Holkar should be placed under the protection of the British, who were to maintain an auxiliary force, and to have a contingent of 3000 men placed at their disposal; and that certain districts of moderate extent should be ceded, not for the purpose of being possessed by the conquerors, but distributed as rewards to those allies who had remained faithful during the present contest.

After losing the support of the Holkar family, the Pindarees found an unexpected asylum with Juswunt Rao, one of Sindia's generals, who occupied several strong camps in the neighbourhood of Rampoora. After several fruitless remonstrances, General Brown attacked this

chieftain, reduced his intrenchments, and obliged him to fly with only a handful of followers.

The hopes of the Pindarees were now reduced to the lowest ebb. Flight, they knew not whither, became their only resource. They had obtained Kumulner and other fortresses in the Rajpoot territory; but these being quickly invested, were, after a short resistance, all given up. Major Clerke having overtaken the party under Kurreem during the night, and finding them plunged as usual in profound security, delayed the attack till morning, that they might derive no advantage from the darkness. He divided his corps into two, with one of which he made the charge, while the other occupied the only road by which the enemy could retreat. They sustained, accordingly, a complete overthrow, and were dispersed in every direction, leaving several of their leaders dead on the field. After suffering some further disasters, all the corps were reduced to a state truly miserable. Cheetoo and his adherents sometimes slept with their horses saddled, and the bridles in their hands, that they might be ready for instant flight. At length an intimation was circulated, that, in case of unconditional surrender, their lives would be spared, and the chiefs should even obtain the means of an honourable subsistence in some remote district. One leader

after another submitted upon these terms. At length Kurreem, after wandering for some time on foot through the jungles, gave himself up, on the 15th February, 1818, to Sir John Malcolm. Cheetoo opened a negotiation; but, on learning the small allowance which was to be granted to one whom he thought entitled to a jaghire in his native country and a place in the British service, he hastily took his departure. He afterwards encountered a variety of distresses, which ended in a manner equally dismal and appalling, being devoured by a tiger while lurking in the forests of Asseerghur. His fate excited sympathy among the British officers, who admired the spirit and intrepidity with which he had braved the deepest reverses of fortune.

Intrigues at Poonah.

While the performances on the main theatre of Indian warfare were thus brought to a successful close, two separate dramas of a subordinate though eventful character were acted on other stages. The most remarkable was at the court of Poonah. The Peishwa, ever since the last humiliating treaty which he was compelled to sign, had eagerly sought deliverance from a yoke which now pressed heavily upon him. The employment of the British forces in the Pindaree campaign offered a tempting occasion to reassert his independence. A little consideration indeed would have shewn him that this contest could not engage his enemy beyond

a very short period ; after which they would find it easy to crush such resistance as he or any other of the Mahrattah states could create. But the Peishwa, like many other Indian princes, though possessed of talent and address, and skilled in pursuing the ordinary objects of eastern policy, was incapable of taking a comprehensive view of his actual situation. He was encouraged by the hatred of the English which he saw prevalent among his chiefs, and by the general disposition of all the Mahrattah leaders to unite in a confederacy against that people.

For a considerable time he threw an impenetrable veil over his hostile designs. On intimation being given of an intention to go to war with the Pindarees, he professed his cordial concurrence in the object, and his desire to co-operate by all the means in his power. So great, indeed, was his address, that Sir John Malcolm, an intelligent and veteran politician, after living at his court several days, was completely deceived and communicated his opinion, that nothing hostile was to be apprehended from the Peishwa. Mr. Elphinstone, the official resident, entertained from the first an opposite opinion, which was soon fully confirmed. He saw that the utmost activity was employed in collecting troops, under the pretext of aiding in the Pindaree war, but in fact with a purpose directly

opposite. At the same time the jaghiredars, who had been studiously depressed and humbled, were courted and conciliated; while Bapoo Gokla, an officer of distinguished ability, who had hitherto been kept in a species of disgrace, was invested with the supreme direction of affairs. A numerous camp was formed close to the British cantonments, around which the Mahrattah horsemen were seen riding in menacing attitudes. The brigade commanded by Colonel Burr, the amount of which had been fixed with a very undue confidence in the friendly disposition of the prince, did not exceed three sepoy battalions, with a European regiment not yet arrived from Bombay. As the hostile intentions of the court became more and more manifest, it was judged advisable to withdraw the troops into a strong defensive position formed near the city by an angle of the river Moola; but Mr. Elphinstone, anxious to avoid any semblance of being the aggressor, resolved not to quit the residency till he should be driven away by force. Threatening notes began to be exchanged; and on the 5th November, 1817, so sudden an attack was made that the Resident and his suite had scarcely time to mount their horses, when his mansion was plundered, and all the property, including books and papers, was either carried off or destroyed.

Peishwa attacks the British.

The Resident's party made good its retreat along the left bank of the Moola, skirmishing with some horse that followed them. At the bridge they crossed the river, and joined the brigade, which had previously turned out and advanced from Kirkee at Mr. Elphinstone's requisition, as soon as the hostile approach of the enemy had been observed. The position at Kirkee was admirably adapted to purposes of defence; but it had been concerted between the Resident and Colonel Burr, that the brigade should advance, and fight its battle in the plain between Kirkee and Poonah. No sooner had Mr. Elphinstone joined the brigade than the battle commenced, the enemy opening a heavy, but distant cannonade from many guns, while immense bodies of horse attempted to push round the flanks of the British. The enemy were finally repulsed, leaving about 500 dead on the field, and our troops returned to Kirkee, where they were not afterwards molested. Our loss in this action was eighteen killed, and fifty-seven wounded, and this brilliant affair reflects no less credit on Colonel Burr, and his gallant companions in arms, than on the presence of mind and spirited conduct of the Resident, who shared the dangers of the unequal conflict.

Battle of Kirkee, Nov. 5th, 1817.

When General Smith, therefore, on the 13th November, after fighting his way through the

Peishwa's cavalry, arrived at Poonah, and prepared to attack the Mahrattah camp, that Prince at once began a retreat. He continued it for upwards of six months without intermission, ranging over the wide extent of the Deccan; at one time approaching Mysore, at another proceeding nearly to the Nerbudda, always distancing his pursuers by the skill and rapidity of his march, and even passing between corps advancing from opposite quarters. At one time he made himself sure of cutting off a division of 800 men destined to reinforce Colonel Burr; but Captain Staunton the commander, taking post in a village, repulsed with desperate valour, though with severe loss, all his attacks, and he was at length obliged to desist. This was considered the bravest exploit performed in the whole course of the war. The Peishwa finding himself now a hopeless fugitive, and learning the triumphs of his enemy in other quarters, made overtures for a treaty; hoping to be allowed to retain, though in a reduced condition, his rank as a sovereign. But the Governor General, on considering his long course of hostility and the treacherous attack made at so critical a moment, had determined to erase his name from the list of Indian Princes, and that there should be no longer a Peishwa. Britain was to exercise the sovereign sway in all the territories which had belonged to him;

Defeat of the Peishwa.

though, in order to sooth in some degree the irritated feelings of the Mahrattah people, the Rajah of Satara, the descendant of Sevajee, still deeply venerated even after his long depression, was to be restored to some share of his former dignity. To follow up this purpose, General Smith laid siege to Satara, which surrendered after a short resistance. The interval afforded a brief respite to the Peishwa, and lulled his vigilance: so that when this officer had pushed on by forced marches, at the head of a division of light horse, he arrived unobserved within hearing of the Mahrattah kettle-drums. Concealed for some time by the brow of a hill, he appeared on its summit to the astonishment of the Indian army. The Peishwa forthwith left the field with his attendants; but Gokla determined to hazard a battle rather than sacrifice nearly the whole of his baggage. He made the attack with the greatest vigour, and had succeeded in throwing part of the cavalry into some confusion, when he fell mortally wounded. His death was even regretted by the English, since his enmity to their nation, and zeal for the independence of his own, had been tempered by honour and humanity. The whole army immediately fled, and the British obtained possession of the person of the Rajah of Satara, who had before been a prisoner in the hands of his rival.

Surrender of Satara.

The Peishwa twice defeated.

Bajee Rao still continued his flying march, of which he assumed the whole charge; and gave out every morning the direction in which the army was to move, having concealed it till that moment from his most confidential officers. After much and long wandering, he moved northward to the borders of Berar and Malwa, where he partially recruited his strength by collecting the remains of the beaten armies. But he soon found himself hemmed in closer and closer; and in pursuing his march, in the absence of proper information, he met Colonel Adams at the head of a considerable force, and could not avoid a battle. He was defeated, with the loss of most of his infantry, and all his artillery, saving only his horse and light troops. He then made an effort to reach the capital of Sindia, hoping for aid, or at least protection, from this most powerful of the Mahrattah Chieftains; but all the passes were strictly guarded. His distress became greater every day; his followers deserted in vast numbers, and the English drew their nets round him so closely that he could not hope long to escape. He then opened a correspondence with Sir John Malcolm. After some discussion, it was agreed that he should surrender, and that, on being secured in a pension of eight lacs of rupees (about 100,000*l.*), he should renounce the dignity of Peishwa, with all his claims as a Sovereign;

Surrender of the Peishwa.

spending the rest of his days in some holy city at a distance from the seat of his former dominion. The sum was regarded by the Marquis of Hastings as too large; though, considering it as the final adjustment with a Prince who ranked in power and authority above all others at that time in India, it does not appear very extravagant. The apprehension that his revenue would be employed by him as an instrument for regaining his political influence has not been realized. The ex-Peishwa almost immediately resigned himself to voluptuous indulgences, to which he had always been addicted, and sought to drown in them every recollection of his former schemes and greatness.

Disturbances at Nagpore.

While the territory of Poonah was agitated by these violent commotions, a scene almost exactly similar was passing at Nagpore. Appa Saheb had invited the British troops with the sole view of maintaining his own situation as Regent; and so long as he judged them necessary for that object he remained faithful. At length he got rid, by assassination, of the young Prince, and placed himself on the *guddee*, as the seat was called to which the dignity of Rajah was attached. He then considered himself independent of foreign aid, and began to view it with the dislike so generally felt by all persons in his condition. He was thus led to enter into the confederacy against the British power which

was formed among the Mahrattah Chiefs in consequence of the Pindaree war. He was observed to carry on a most active correspondence with the Peishwa while the latter was maturing his plans of aggression. The first treaty which that Prince was compelled to sign greatly abated the courage of his ally, which was revived, however, by the intelligence of his having again taken up arms and attacked the English subsidiary force. The subsequent retreat of Bajee Rao threw him into much hesitation and uncertainty, though at length it resulted in the hazardous determination to follow his example. On the 24th November, 1817, Mr. Jenkins, the British Resident, was invited to see his Highness invested with a dress of honour; having assumed the juree putka or golden streamer, an emblem of high command, both of which had been transmitted by the Peishwa. Our countryman declined attendance, not without expressing indignation at the Rajah's acceptance of these honours at such a moment; and indeed it seems to have been an imprudent and premature insult, by which the English were put on their guard.

The subsidiary force now stationed at Nagpore was very small. It consisted only of two battalions of native infantry, with detachments of cavalry and artillery; and the whole, being much reduced by sickness, did not amount to

1400 men. The Rajah's army, on the contrary, comprised 10,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, including 3,000 or 4,000 very brave Arab troops. The Residency was situated outside the town, and separated from it by a ridge rising at each extremity into low hills, which were hastily occupied as defensive posts. At sunset the picquets were fired upon by the Arab infantry, and soon after a general discharge of artillery was opened upon all the positions, particularly those on the smaller hill. This was continued till two in the morning with considerable effect, the first officer in command on that station being killed, and the second wounded. The English, during the remainder of the night, made the best preparations in their power against the more serious attack which was anticipated in the morning. Accordingly at daybreak the charge was renewed with increased fury. At ten a tumbril burst on the smaller hill, which threw the troops into some confusion; the Arabs rushed on with loud cries, the sepoys were seized with panic and fled, abandoning the guns and the wounded, who were immediately put to the sword. The enemy then opened a heavy fire on the larger hill, when several officers fell, and among them Mr. Sotheby, the Resident's assistant, a young man of distinguished merit, while he was endeavouring to rally and restore the courage of his men. The dismay of the troops, the cries of

Attack on the English at Nagpore.

the women and children, the vast numbers and increasing confidence of the enemy, seemed to portend the most fatal result. Yet, even then, resources were found in British firmness and courage. Captain Fitzgerald, who had withdrawn the cavalry within the Residency-grounds, seeing the critical state of the infantry, and the fire already opening upon his station, felt that affairs could be retrieved only by one of those bold attacks which a native army can scarcely ever resist. He led his few horsemen to the charge, drove every thing before him, took two guns and turned them against the enemy. The troops on the larger hill, animated by this example, resumed courage, and, raising loud shouts, opened a brisk fire on the assailants. A party dashed across to the smaller hill, from which the Rajah's followers were driven in their turn, and about noon were repulsed at every point. Yet the British had lost a fourth of their number, and their ammunition was drawing to a close, so that had Appa persevered, he must have finally succeeded in cutting off the detachment,—an event which would have produced the strongest sensation over all India. But he remained inactive, while English reinforcements were poured in from every quarter. On the 12th December, General Doveton arrived with the strong reserve under his command. It then became impossible for Saheb to hope for suc-

cess; he had already obtained an armistice, and now inquired as to the terms on which a final accommodation might be effected. Mr. Jenkins replied that nothing could now be accepted short of entire submission,—the disbanding of his troops, the delivering up of all his forts and artillery, and his own presence as a hostage at the British Residency. It was, however, intimated that, on his complying fully with these requisitions, he would be restored to nearly his former condition, being required only to maintain a subsidiary force, and submit to a certain degree of control. When the troops, however, marched into Nagpore to take possession of the ordnance, they were saluted with a hot fire, and suffered some loss before they could seize the guns and compel the Arabs, who took the chief part in this resistance, to retire within the fort. As they refused to surrender, a siege was immediately commenced, and a practical breach appeared to have been made in the gate; but when the assault was given, it was found to be so secured by interior walls, that the English were obliged to retreat with considerable damage. Preparations were then made to invest the place on a more regular plan; but the Arabs, satisfied with the display of valour which they had already made, capitulated on the condition of being allowed to march out with their baggage and private property.

Submission of the Rajah.

As none of these transactions could be brought home to Appa Saheb, he was not made responsible for them. On the surrender of Nagpore he was liberated, and received notice of the terms on which he would be allowed to retain his seat on the guddee. These consisted in his being placed entirely on the same footing with the Nizam; having his military force subjected to the control of the Company, and even his ministers appointed by them. The Rajah expressed his dissatisfaction only by offering to retire altogether on a liberal pension; but this was not considered admissible. He forthwith began to intrigue, with the view of shaking off this hated dependence. Troops were levied, the governors of fortresses and the mountain-chiefs were instructed to muster their forces and give every possible annoyance to the English; finally, a secret correspondence was discovered with Bajee Rao, who being invited to join his army to the standard of the Peishwa, had actually taken steps for that purpose. Mr. Jenkins hereupon deemed it indispensable to call upon Appa to resume his place within the Residency; and this not being complied with, a party was sent who effected his arrest, fortunately without having recourse to violence. It is less difficult, however, to seize Indian Chiefs than to keep them: the Rajah being mildly treated, and access procured to him by several

of his adherents, a plan was arranged for his escape in the disguise of a sepoy. He went off at two in the morning, and the discovery was not made till daylight; so that, relays of horses having been provided, all pursuit was vain. As the Pindaree war, however, was now terminated, and Bajee Rao reduced to the last extremity, he was unable to do more than excite desultory hostilities in the mountainous districts. The English were thus able, on their own terms, to place on the guddee Bajee Rao, a grandson of Raghojee Bhonslay, while the administration was placed entirely under their own control.

After many unprovoked aggressions on the part of the Birman Monarch, a descendant of Alompra, an adventurer, who usurped the throne of the Birman empire in 1752, it became evident, at the close of the year 1823, that hostilities with that power were unavoidable.

In the Marquis of Hastings's Summary of the Operations in India during his administration, the following passage occurs:—

"In my way back to Calcutta in July, 1818, I received a rescript, brought by an envoy from the Birman Monarch, whom we incorrectly call King of Ava, from one of the great divisions of his empire. The purport of this curious paper was a requisition for our immediate surrender of all the provinces east of the Bangrutty, even including Moorshedebad, with a

menace, that should the demand not be obeyed, he would lay waste our territories with fire and sword. His projected hostility was evidently a measure concerted with the Mahrattahs, and during the rainy season, when the overflowing of the rivers renders the march of troops impracticable. His Majesty conceived, by advancing a title, however extravagant, to those provinces, he should have an ostensible ground for invading a state, with which otherwise he had no quarrel.

"I sent back the envoy with an intimation, that the answer should be conveyed through another channel. He had come from the court through the northern Birman provinces. The answer was despatched by sea to the Viceroy of Arraccan, residing at the port of Rangoon, in the central division, for transmission to his Sovereign.

"It expressed, that I was too well acquainted with his Majesty's wisdom to be the dupe of the gross forgery attempted to be palmed upon me; wherefore I sent to him the document fabricated in his august name, and trusted that he would subject to condign punishment the persons who had so profligately endeavoured to sow dissension between two powers reciprocally interested to cultivate amity. By this procedure I evaded the necessity of noticing an insolent step, foreseeing that his Birman Majesty would be

thoroughly glad of the excuse to remain quiet, when he learned that his secret allies had been subdued. That information he received at the same time with my letter; and all further discussion, or explanation, being forborne, the former amicable intercourse continued without change. The circumstance will shew the extent to which the negotiations of the Mahrattahs had gone, exhibiting also the advantage of using exertions so decisive, as should not leave time for distant enemies to come forward."

Though Lord Hastings, in 1818, entertained the opinion, that the ambitious views of the Birman Monarch were bounded by the absence of the hope of an alliance with the native powers of Hindostan, disposed to hostility with the British Government; the insulting tone of the Court of Ava, in its subsequent conduct, demonstrated that its presumption and arrogance were sufficient to encourage the formation of a plan for the invasion of the British territory by a Birman army, even when no other power appeared disposed to aid the aggression.

The Birman empire had itself been much extended by conquest during the reign of Alompra and his successors, which may, in some measure, account for the infatuation which pervaded the councils of its Monarch in 1823, and which was fed by the sanguine enterprise of his ablest warrior, the Maha Bundoola, who

afterwards fell in the defence of the fortified position of Donabue, on the river Irrawaddy, on the 1st of April, 1825, after having opposed the progress of the British invading force for ten months.

The Marquis of Hastings quitted the Government of India in January, 1823. In the August of that year, Lord Amherst reached Calcutta as Governor General.

War with Ava, Feb. 1824.

Fresh aggressions on the part of the Birman Government, led to the British manifesto of the 24th of February, 1824. It was determined to attack Rangoon, and to alarm the enemy by landing an army on his southern territory; while Brigadier-general Morrison, C. B. was to occupy the city of Arraccan, and effect a junction with the main body under Brigadier-general Sir Archibald Campbell, on the banks of the Irrawaddy, on about the 20th parallel of latitude.

General Morrison's force was so reduced by sickness, as to be unable to advance from Arraccan.

Capture of Rangoon, May 11, 1824.

Rangoon was taken on the 11th of May, by the combined force under Commodore Grant, C. B., and Brigadier-general Sir Archibald Campbell, K.C.B. It is not within the limits of this work to detail the minute particulars of the hostilities which followed. After suffering severely from sickness during the rainy season

of 1824, and repulsing the Birman army under the Maha Bundoola in December, 1824, and January, 1825, Sir Archibald Campbell's column advanced to the northward in February, 1825, while a force of 1,200 men, under the present Sir Willoughby Cotton, C. B., embarked in gun-boats, and escorted by the boats of the ships of war at Rangoon (the river force, while afloat, being under the late Captain Alexander, C. B. of the navy,) ascended the river Irrawaddy, conveying provisions for the whole armament.

Donabue summoned, March 6th, 1825.

The Maha Bundoola had retired to the fort of Donabue, which was summoned to surrender on the 6th of March, by the commander of the water-column; Sir Archibald Campbell having continued his march towards Prome, leaving the reduction of Donabue to Sir Willoughby Cotton alone. The Bundoola refused to surrender, inviting the British commander to view his works of defence, and convince himself of the impracticability of their reduction by the British force present.

The following morning the southern outwork of Donabue was cannonaded, stormed, and taken; and in attempting the approaches to the main work, the storming-party encountered a cross fire in passing a dry nullah, by which they were almost all either killed or wounded. Captains Rose and Cannon, of his Majesty's

89th regiment, were among the former. Captain Rose was shot through the hand, but continued to animate his men, till a ball through the heart terminated his gallant existence!

The attack failed, and it was with difficulty that the guns, which had been landed, were re-embarked. The flotilla dropped down the river, leaving the Birmese in possession of the pagoda stockade, the work which had been carried on the morning of the 7th of March.

Sir Archibald Campbell on hearing of this reverse, crossed the Irrawaddy, 40 miles above Donabue, and countermarched to the relief of the water column, and to meet those supplies he had no means of obtaining but through their exertions. The latter again approached Donabue on the 17th of March, and remained exposed to the nightly fire of the enemy, from the right bank of the river, and from the attacks of his war boats till the 25th, when the British artillery were heard on the northern side of the fort. After the union of the two columns, a week elapsed before a termination was unex-

The water column was accompanied by a small steam-vessel of sixteen-horse power, the first built at Calcutta, and the first used in warfare. She was twice struck with shot during these night attacks; the Birmans fixing sticks in the ground, during the day-time, so as to ascertain her immediate position during the night. The banks of the river were trenched, so as to protect the assailants from the fire of the flotilla.

pectedly put to the siege (regular trenches having been opened, and a breaching battery erected) by the death of the Maha Bundoola, who was killed by a rocket on the evening of the 1st of April. After which the whole garrison, amounting to at least 12,000 men including cavalry, escaped during the night, by those two sides of the place, which, from its extent, were not capable of being invested by Sir Archibald Campbell's lines.

Death of Maha Bundoola, and fall of Donabue, Apr. 2d, 1825.

The whole of the ordnance, ammunition, and provisions in Donabue, were captured, and the British armament met no further opposition till after the occupation of Prome, the second city of the Birman empire, which took place on the 26th of April, 1825.

That the expedition to Rangoon took place at an unfavourable time of the year, and that that circumstance led to the loss of many lives, cannot be denied. At the same time it should be considered, that the same mortality would have, in all probability, attended the defence of our own territory, had the Government of India allowed it to have been the scene of invasion, instead of striking a blow at that of the enemy, in a quarter which drew all his military resources from our frontier.

Sir Archibald Campbell remained unmolested at Prome for several months, during which time the Birman authorities, at first astounded at the

death of their generalissimo, and afterwards at the capture of Prome, gradually recovered their assurance, and by the end of the rainy season, which had been so fatal to many of our brave men, Europeans and natives, who fell victims to cholera and dysentery, Prome was invested by nearly as formidable an army as Rangoon had been menaced with at the termination of the previous year.

This Birman force was attacked and defeated, and Sir Archibald Campbell, accompanied by the flotilla convoying his provisions, advanced to Meaday, on the river's left bank, where fresh advantages were obtained over the enemy. In consequence of these, a preliminary treaty of peace was entered into on the 3rd of January, 1826, at Patanagoh, every movement of the army being on the banks of the Irrawaddy, and in conjunction with a corresponding movement of the flotilla.

The time allowed for the receipt of the ratification of the treaty having expired on the 18th of January, and the Khee Whoongee, or Birman Prime Minister, who was present, with their force, continuing to evade its delivery, no alternative was left to the Commander of the forces but a renewal of hostilities, which took place on the 19th of January, and was attended with the complete defeat of the enemy, and capture of the fortified position of Melloon, in which the

treaty (sixteen days before pretended to have been forwarded to Ava for ratification) was found!

The British force advanced, and was met at Paghamew by a body of Birmese troops, who, for the first time, attempted to contend with it in the open field, an experiment that was not repeated.

Sir Archibald Campbell had been joined by Mr. Robertson, of the Bengal Civil Service, who was empowered by the Supreme Government of India to act as Commissioner for the affairs of Ava, conjointly with the General. An American Missionary, who had been some time resident at the Birman capital, accompanied by Doctor Sandford, the Surgeon of the Royals, who had been captured by the enemy some weeks previous, now made their appearance in the British camp. The former announced himself as an envoy from the Birman Court, which was anxious to obtain the conditions of peace named in the treaty of Patanagoh. Doctor Sandford was on his parole of honour, to return to Ava in case of the negotiation failing. Sir Archibald Campbell insisted on the immediate payment of a sum amounting to 2,508,199 sicca rupees, the first instalment of a crore of rupees now demanded, before he halted. His advance continued till, his demand being known at the capital, the

required sum met him only forty-five miles below it at Yandaboo, at which place the final treaty of peace between the Government of India and the Birman Monarch was signed on the 24th of February, 1826.

Treaty of Yandaboo, Feb. 24, 1826.

By this treaty the Birman Monarch has ceded in perpetuity to the British the provinces of Arraccan, Ramnee, Cheduba, and Sandoway, which comprise all the eastern coast of the bay of Bengal as far south as Cape Negrais. The new British possessions are bounded to the eastward by a range of mountains which separate them from Ava proper.

His Majesty has renounced all claims on, and engaged to abstain from all interference with, the states on the British eastern frontier to the northward. He has also ceded to the British the provinces of Yeh, Tavoy, Merqui, and Tenasserim to the southward, with the islands and dependencies thereunto belonging; has consented to receive a British Resident at Ava, and to depute a Birman minister to reside at Calcutta; to abolish all enactions upon British ships or vessels in Birman ports, and to enter into a commercial treaty on principles of reciprocal advantage. The King of Ava, in proof of the sincere disposition of the Birman Government to maintain the relations of peace and amity between the two nations, and as part indemnification to the British Government for

the expenses of the war, agreed to pay the sum of one crore of rupees, equal to about 1,000,000*l.* sterling; valuing the rupee at two shillings, (the then rate of exchange); the first instalment of which, as above stated, was paid on the spot.

Thus terminated the contest with Ava, in which more English blood was shed than the public are at all aware of. Of the eight King's Regiments that served under Sir Archibald Campbell, the 13th Light Infantry suffered most, being reduced from near 800 rank and file to less than 200 in strength, during the 22 months of the service of that gallant corps. Though the fidelity and courage of the native troops was great, yet the enemy cared little for them, and latterly every action was decided, and every post carried, by the bayonet of the European soldier. The services rendered by the officers, seamen, and marines of the Royal Navy were attended with great mortality. Commodore Grant, C.B., Sir J. Brisbane, C.B., and Captain Alexander, C.B. may all be said to have fallen victims to their exertions on this service;* and the crews of the ships of war, employed in open boats up the Irrawaddy,

* Commander Dawson, of the Arachne, was killed at the storming of a fortified position near Prome, a few days after his promotion to the vacancy occasioned by Capt. Alexander's death.

suffered in proportion, though their ardour and cheerfulness never diminished. Some of the men were upwards of twelve months away from their ships without ever seeing them, and when the Alligator of 28 guns weighed her anchor to proceed to Calcutta with the first instalment of the treasure paid by the enemy, the Surgeon was the only officer on board who had belonged to that ship when she anchored off Rangoon 14 months before.

Siege of Bhurtpore.

In the early part of 1825, during the operations against the Birman monarch, the attention of the Supreme Government was drawn to the proceedings at Bhurtpore, where Doorgun Sal, aided by his brother Madoo Sing, attempted to usurp the right of Bulwunt Sing, their cousin, who was a minor, and rightful heir to Biddoo Sing, the deceased Rajah. All exertions and entreaties on the part of the Resident, Sir Charles Metcalfe, to induce Doorgun Sal to abstain from the course which he was pursuing, proving fruitless, offensive operations were resolved on; and General Lord Combermere, who arrived in Bengal as Commander-in-Chief, in October, 1825, proceeded to Bhurtpore to take the command in person of 25,000 of the finest troops of the Bengal army, together with a heavy and well-formed battering train and other ordnance. The batteries were opened against the works on the 25th of December. On the

18th of January, 1826, after a most vigorous defence on the part of the enemy, the breaches were carried by storm, and the fortress surrendered unconditionally. Storm of Bhurtpore, Jan. 18, 1826.

Doorgun Sal was made prisoner in an attempt to escape, together with his wife, two sons, and 160 chosen horse. The ample preparations which were made to effect the reduction of Bhurtpore left little doubt as to the result of the siege. Its fall was important, as it has tended to efface the impression created in the minds of the natives by the ill success which attended the four attempts made in 1805 to storm that fort, when the loss of the British army amounted to between three and four thousand men.

The following legislative enactments relating to Indian affairs took place after the Act of the 53 Geo. III. cap. 155, opening the trade with India to the public.

In the 20th clause of the latter Act, a power was reserved to the Legislature for authorising further extension of private trade during the further term granted to the Company.

Under this reservation, an Act was introduced in the next Session, 1814, termed the Circuitous Trade Act, which permitted trade in ships navigated according to law, to and at any intermediate ports, or places, or countries between the United Kingdom and the limits of 54 Geo III. cap. 34, passed.

the Company's Charter, situate in North and South America, (except his Majesty's colonies and possessions) and to and at Madeira, the Canaries, the Cape de Verd islands, St. Helena, and the Cape of Good Hope. No alteration was made as to the size of the vessels, licenses, or otherwise.

57 Geo. III. cap. 36, passed.

In June, 1817, a further extension was granted, by admitting a trade direct from Malta and Gibraltar, to and from the places within the Company's limits, under the 57 George III. cap. 36.

Twelfth Article of the Treaty of Paris.

By the twelfth article of the Treaty of Paris, concluded May 30th, 1814, His Most Christian Majesty engaged not to erect any fortifications on the establishments to be restored to him in India, and to maintain such troops only as may be necessary for police. By the seventh article of a Convention signed at London in March, 1815, the civil officers in such establishments, in the event of a rupture between Great Britain and France, are not to be considered as prisoners of war.

53 Geo. III. cap. 64.

In May, 1815, an Act was passed to explain and amend the Act of the 53 George III. cap. 155, subjecting all grants of money by the East India Company as well as by the Court of Directors, beyond 600*l.* to any one person, to confirmation by the Board of Commissioners.

On the 14th of June, 1815, an Act was passed to authorise the Governments in India, should they think fit, to remove all persons, being subjects of foreign states, from India. 55 Geo. III. cap. 84.

In April, 1816, two Acts were passed, one for more effectually detaining Napoleon Buonaparte in custody on the Company's island of St. Helena; the other regulating the intercourse with that island during his detention there, by which no vessels other than those chartered or engaged by the East India Company, were to trade or touch there. 56 Geo. III. cap. 22. 56 Geo. III. cap. 23.

In June, 1817, an Act was passed, permitting a direct trade to and from the places within the Company's limits and certain possessions in the Mediterranean. 57 Geo. III. cap. 36.

In June, 1818, an Act was passed to consolidate the several laws relating to the manner in which the East India Company are required to hire ships; also another Act to remove doubts as to the validity of certain marriages had and solemnized in India by ministers of the Church of Scotland. 58 Geo. III. cap. 83. 58 Geo. III. cap. 84.

In April, 1819, an Act was passed, enabling His Majesty to fix the rate, and direct the disposal of freight of money for the conveyance of specie and jewels on board His Majesty's ships and vessels. 59 Geo. III. cap. 25.

An Act was also passed in July, 1819, regulating the postage to and from India. 59 Geo. III cap. 111.

Such were the various enactments in the reign of George III. relative to the trade and concerns of India, passed subsequent to the renewal of the Charter in 1813.

In July, 1820, an Act was passed to enable the East India Company to raise, and maintain, a corps of volunteer infantry.

2 Geo. IV. cap. 60. In June, 1821, an Act was passed to regulate the appropriation of unclaimed shares of prize-money belonging to soldiers or seamen in the service of the East India Company.

2 Geo. IV. cap. 65. An Act was passed in the month of July following, authorising a trade to and from places within the limits of the Charter of the East India Company, (excepting the dominions of the Emperor of China) and ports or places beyond those limits, belonging to any state or country in amity with his Majesty.

On the 25th of June, 1822, a copy of a minute of the Lords of the Treasury was laid before the House of Commons and ordered to be printed, detailing the proceedings which had taken place since July, 1821, to effect a settlement of the accounts between the public and the East India Company, and the determination of the Lords of the Treasury to propose to Parliament that the public should pay to the Company the sum of 1,300,000*l.*; such sum to be considered as *closing the accounts* between the Government and the East India Company to the 30th of

April, 1822, and to be applied in part discharge of the loan raised for the East India Company in 1812.

The sum of 557,322*l.* beyond the said sum of 1,300,000*l.* being necessary to complete the redemption of the 2,500,000*l.* raised by loan in 1812 for the service of the Company, arrangements were made to meet that sum on the part of the Company; and the Act of the 3 Geo. IV. cap. 93, was passed in the month of July to carry into execution the settlement between His Majesty and the East India Company, by which the account between Government and the Company was closed to the 30th of April, 1822, and repayments made by the Company to the public of the 2,500,000*l.* the future charges on which, were to be transferred to the Consolidated Fund. 3 Geo. IV. cap. 93.

The 4th of Geo. IV. cap. 71, to authorise the Company to defray the charge of retiring pay, pensions, and other expenses of that nature, of his Majesty's forces serving in India; also fixing pensions for the Bishop and Archdeacons, and likewise establishing a Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay, was likewise passed in this Session. 4 Geo. IV. cap. 71.

With reference to half-pay, pensions, &c. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in submitting his budget to the House, on the 2d of July, stated, that as the Company had a large portion of

British troops employed in protecting their territory, it appeared reasonable that they should defray some part of the half-pay and pensions with which the country was chargeable on account of the army. The arrangement ultimately concluded was that the Company should pay 60,000*l.* a-year.

4 Geo. IV. cap. 80. The 4th of Geo. IV. cap 80, (regarding which a lengthened correspondence took place between the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India and the Court of Directors) was passed to consolidate and amend the several laws respecting the Indian trade.

4 Geo. IV. cap. 81. The 4th of Geo. IV. cap. 81, consolidates and amends the laws for punishing mutiny and desertion of officers and soldiers in the East India Company's service.

5 Geo. IV. cap. 88. In 1824, the 5th Geo. IV. cap. 88, was passed, authorising the East India Company to trade direct from China to the British Colonies and plantations in America.

Cap. 108 And the Act of the same Session, cap. 108, was passed, transferring to the Company the Dutch possessions on the continent of India, and the settlement of Malacca ceded to Great Britain, under a treaty concluded between His Britannic Majesty and the King of the Netherlands, on the 17th of March, 1824, together with the island of Singapore; also authorising the removal of convicts from Sumatra.

An Act was likewise passed, cap. 117, enabling the Tanjore Commissioners the better to carry into effect the agreement between the East India Company and the creditors of his Highness Ameer Sing. 5th Geo. IV. cap. 117.

In May, 1825, papers relating to the discussions with the Burmese Government were laid before the House of Commons.

In the month of July, in the same year, an Act was passed for further regulating the payment of the salaries and pensions of the Judges in India, and to the Bishop of Calcutta; also authorising the transportation of offenders from the island of St. Helena, and for more effectually providing for the administration of justice in Singapore and Malacca. 6th Geo IV. c. 85.

In March, 1826, Mr. Wynn brought two Bills before the House of Commons, the one for regugulating the appointment of Juries in the East Indies; the other to suspend the provisions of the 53d Geo. III., which makes it obligatory upon every person before he shall proceed to Bengal, Madras, or Bombay, as a writer, to pass four terms at the East India College; and to authorise representatives of civil and military servants dying within the Company's limits, or at the Cape of Good Hope, when on leave of absence from the settlement or station to which they may belong, to receive the salaries to which such officers would have been entitled had they returned to India.

7th George IV. c 1.

The 7th of Geo. IV. c. 1. enacts that all the charges and expenses of sending out and employing in the East Indies, and parts adjacent, the Naval Force, which hath lately been sent by His Majesty, upon the representation of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, with the approbation of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India; and also the charges and expenses of any Naval Force that may hereafter be sent out by His Majesty, for the purpose of being employed in hostilities against any of the Native Powers in the East Indies, or parts aforesaid, shall be borne by the said United Company as part of their political charges, and the amount thereof shall, from time to time, be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, as the Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury shall direct.

Expenses of extra Naval Force to be borne by the Company, 7th Geo. IV. c. 1.

In the early part of 1827, the Bombay Government was involved in a discussion with the Rajah of Colapore, which fortunately terminated without recourse being had to actual hostilities.

Death of Sir Thomas Munro, July, 1827.

In July, 1827, India lost her ablest friend, and Great Britain her best adviser on Indian affairs, by the death of Major-General Sir Thos. Munro, Bart., K.C.B., Governor of Madras. This lamented event took place at the moment when that distinguished officer was on the point of returning to his native land, after a period of nearly forty years' service. Sir Thomas had ac-

ceded to the request of the Court of Directors to remain longer at his post, as Governor of Madras, than he himself had intended, and fell a victim to his zeal and devotion in the public cause, leaving a name and an example, no less valuable than the services of his honourable life.

On the 18th of July, 1827, Lord William Bentinck was appointed to succeed Lord Amherst as Governor General. Appointment of Lord Wm. Bentinck, July 18th, 1827.

The East India Company have maintained since their earliest establishment, a marine force under the Government of Bombay, which has been denominated the Bombay Marine. This force was constituted by valid authority, under powers specifically granted by Royal Charters, in the successive reigns from James II. to George II. Yet it had been held in the Court of the Recorder of Bombay, that the Charters, under which the Bombay Marine had been formed, did not import a renunciation of the King's general prerogative, to exact the service of all the subjects (being seafaring men,) on board his own ships; and it had been further held that the Charters did not confer the power of governing, and enforcing discipline in the Company's marine, by the same laws, and by the infliction of the same penalties for the same offences, as are provided by statute for the Royal Navy.

On the 30th of June, 1827, an Order in

Order in Council for granting Naval Rank to the Officers of the Bombay Marine.

Council was issued by his Majesty George IV. conferring on the officers of the Bombay Marine, within the limits of the Company's Charter, the privilege of taking rank, agreeably to their several degrees, with the officers of the Royal Navy; but under the condition that all officers of any rank in the Royal Navy shall have precedence of all the officers of the Bombay Marine of *the same rank*, and that the officers of neither service shall have any command whatever over the officers and men of the other service without special orders to that effect being issued by their respective governments.

On the 3d of July, 1828, a Bill was brought in by the Chairman of the Court of Directors, to extend the provisions of the Mutiny Act for the Company's Army to the Bombay Marine, which bill subsequently passed into a law.

His Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral issued a warrant on the 12th of June, 1827, authorising the vessels of the Bombay Marine to wear the Union Jack, and a pendant with a St. George's Cross, on a white field, on the part next the mast, with a red fly.

On the 27th of November, 1826, Mr. Williams Wynn gave notice of a motion of thanks to the Army and Navy in India, for their services in the contest with Ava; and a motion of Thanks to the Army employed in the reduction of Bhurtpore.

On the 21st of March, 1827, a petition was presented from the Merchants of Bristol, praying that the House would consider the propriety of rendering the commercial intercourse between this country and its eastern dependencies as unrestricted as that which subsists with the most favoured of its colonies.

On the 22d of March, Mr. Hume moved that there be laid before the House a copy of the report from Sir Edward Paget, the Commander-in-chief, to the Governor General in Council at Calcutta, respecting the mutiny at Barrackpore, and the measures adopted to suppress it. The motion was negatived by 176 to 44.

On the 7th of May, 1827, accounts of the revenues and charges in India, from 1822-3; also of the territorial debt owing by the Company were presented to the House.

Vote of Thanks to the Forces employed in Ava, May 8th, 1827.

On the 8th of May, the House of Commons voted thanks to the Forces employed in Ava, and against Bhurtpore.

On the 10th of May, further revenue accounts were presented.

On the 15th of May, Mr. Wolryche Whitmore, in pursuance of the notice given by him, moved for the appointment of a Select Committee, to inquire into the trade between Great Britain and India. After much discussion the motion was withdrawn.

On the 19th, May, copies and extracts of

various proceedings relative to the burning of widows on the funeral piles of their husbands, were presented to the House, in consequence of an order of the 21st of the previous February.

On the 25th of May, the annual East India revenue accounts were produced.

1827. On the 21st of June, Mr. Fergusson submitted a motion regarding landed property in India, which owing to the late period of the session was withdrawn. It was brought forward in June, 1828, and passed into a law on the 27th of that month.

On the 18th of February, 1828, accounts were ordered of all articles exported from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to the East Indies in each year, from the 15th of January, 1820, to the 5th of January, 1827; and of all articles imported from the East Indies into the United Kingdom in each year, from the 5th of January, 1820, to the 5th of January, 1827.

On the 11th of March, a return was ordered of the number of ships cleared out from the different ports of the United Kingdom for British India in each year, from 1801 to 1826, both inclusive, specifying their tonnage, the number of seamen employed in navigating them, and distinguishing the ships belonging to or chartered by the East India Company, from those of private merchants.

On the same day, an account of Tea imported, exported, and retained for home consumption in Great Britain, in 1820 and 1827, was ordered.

On the 22d of May, Mr. Williams Wynne, gave notice of his intention to move, on the 3d of June, for leave to bring in two Bills, one for the extension of the late improvements in the Criminal Laws in India; and the other to extend the benefit of the Insolvent Act. The Bills were brought in and read the first time on the 6th of June, and were passed into laws on the 25th of July.

On the 4th of June, a motion was submitted by Mr. Hume, for a copy of the Memorial presented by the Merchants of London, trading to India, in February last, to the Court of Directors, respecting the stamp tax lately imposed in Calcutta on commercial transactions; and a copy of any answer from the Court to that memorial; and for a return of the amount of revenue received from stamps in India, in the years 1823-4 and 1825-6, under certain heads, was agreed to. The said memorial and accounts were presented to the House on the 16th of June. 1828.

On the 10th of June, Mr. Astell obtained leave to bring in a Bill for regulating the proportions of unclaimed prize money, acquired by Soldiers or Seamen in the East India Company's service. The Bill was brought in and

read a first time the same day, and received the Royal assent on the 15th of July.

On the 16th of June, the Marquis of Lansdowne presented to the House of Lords a Petition from the Merchants, Traders, and Inhabitants of Calcutta, relative to the Stamp Duties imposed there by order of the Government. This Petition was ordered to lie on the table.

Another Petition against the tax in question was presented by Sir James Mackintosh in June.

9th George IV., cap. 33, passed.

On the 27th of June, 1828, an Act was passed to declare and settle the law respecting the liability of the real estates of British subjects and others, situate within the jurisdiction of his Majesty's Supreme Courts in India, as assets in the hands of executors and administrators to the payment of the debts of their deceased owners.

10th George IV., cap. 16, passed.

On the 14th of May, 1829, an Act was passed to continue the operation of an Act of the 7th year of Geo. IV., for suspending the provisions of an Act of his late Majesty, respecting the appointment of Writers in the service of the East India Company; and to amend the provisions of an Act of the 47th year of his late Majesty, so far as they relate to the period of residence at Hertford College, as a qualification for certain offices.

On the 27th of January, 1832, Mr. Charles Grant moved for a Select Committee to be

appointed to inquire into the affairs of the East India Company, and the state of the trade between Great Britain, the East Indies, and China.

August 15th 1832, the Royal assent was given, by the King in person, to a Bill for permitting natives to sit on juries for the trial of British subjects, and also authorising the Governor General in Council to appoint *natives* to be Justices of the Peace!

The Mayor's Court, which existed at Madras until 1797, was in that year superseded by the establishment of a Recorder's Court, under the 37th Geo. III., cap. 142, which court was abolished in 1800 by the Act of the 39th and 40th Geo. III., cap. 79; and a Supreme Court of Judicature was erected in its room, to consist of a Chief Justice, and two Puisne Judges. Letters-patent, granting a Charter of Justice, were issued on the 26th of December, 1801.

Supreme Court of Judicature established at Madras, December, 1801.

In the year 1823, an Act was passed, authorising the abolition of the Recorder's Court at Bombay, and the establishment in its room of a Supreme Court of Judicature, to consist of the like number of Judges as the Supreme Court at Fort William in Bengal (4th Geo. IV., cap. 71,) by the 17th section of which Act it was provided, that the Courts at Madras and Bombay shall have the same powers as the Court at Fort William.

Supreme Court of Bombay established, 1823.

The mutinies of Vellore, and Barrackpore, should not remain without notice, in a volume professing historical impartiality.

They serve to shew that the fidelity of the native troops of India, though great, is not always to be depended upon, and to warn our Legislature from any step that might prove injurious to the discipline of the Indian army. The presence of a Gillespie, or a Paget, on such occasions, is not always to be ensured.

During the government of Lord William Bentinck considerable changes have been effected in the internal administration of India, particularly in the judicial, and revenue departments, in which the natives have been entrusted with more extensive powers than heretofore. Great reductions have likewise been made in various government establishments, so as to adapt them to the present state of the finances.

The most prominent feature in his Lordship's administration, has been the suppression of the practice of Suttee, or immolation of Indian widows, which is now prohibited by a government regulation, declaring all persons concerned in assisting a Hindoo widow to destroy herself, guilty of an illegal act, and punishable by imprisonment.

This regulation seems to have succeeded in accomplishing the benevolent object of the Governor General.

The territories over which the East India Company exercises direct, and absolute sway, are, in the Presidency of Bengal, the provinces of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, Benares, Allahabad, Delhi, Agra, Bareilly, and the districts ceded by the Kings of Oude, and Nepaul, and by the Nabob of Ferruckabad.

In the Presidency of Madras, the Circars, the Carnatic, Malabar, and the countries ceded by the Nizam. In the Presidency of Bombay are the island of Bombay, and the old possessions of the English, also all dominions of the Peishwa, except that part which has been granted to the Rajah of Sattara, with the cessions from the other Mahrattah Chiefs in the Deccan, Malwa, Guzerat, and Cutch.

The provinces ceded by the Burmese are, Arraccan, and Tenasserim, with their dependencies. The island of Penang, or Prince of Wales's Island, in the straits of Malacca, was for many years a minor Presidency of itself.

The only colonies in India which now belong to other European nations, are Pondicherry, and Chandornagore to the French; Goa to Portugal; Tranquebar and Serampore to the Danish Government.

The population of the territories directly subject to Great Britain has been estimated at 80,000,000 of souls: while the population of

those states which enjoy civil independence, but have been deprived of a military force, has been computed to amount to 40,000,000. The British territory extends over an area of 585,000 square miles; and the total territory dependent, directly, or indirectly, upon the Company, amounts to about 1,180,000 square miles.

The following is a succinct review of the political relations existing between the Company, and the several native powers of India. Of the Mahrattah Chiefs, Sindia alone retains the full military, as well as civil government of his territories. The present Chief of that name, being a minor recently elevated by British influence. The Courts of Holkar, of the Guicowar, the Rajah of Berar, and of the smaller principalities, still enjoy all the functions of royalty, except the possession of an armed force. They have each, by the cession, or conquest of a part of their territories, purchased military protection from the Company. The Rajpoot Chiefs, who occupy the north-west frontier of Hindostan are tributary, either to the Company, or to the states of Sindia and Holkar.

Of the Mahommedan Governments, the King of Oude, the Nizam, and the Nabob of Bhopaul, are the principal states, whose civil independence is still recognized by the Company. From their defenceless condition, however, they are virtually dependent upon the British Govern-

ment, and have no other security for the continuance of their sovereignties, than its equity and forbearance.

The gross revenue received from the territorial possessions in India amounted, in the year 1826-7, to 23,383,497*l*. Supposing the population, from which this revenue was levied, to exceed 80,000,000 of persons, the average amount of tax paid by each individual would be little more than five shillings.

When Mr. Dundas presented his India budget to the House of Commons on the 1st of July, 1789, the revenue of the three Presidencies was said to be—

1789.

| | |
|---|---|
| Revenue of Bengal . . . . . | £5,182,000 |
| Madras . . . . . | 1,082,000 |
| Bombay . . . . . | 131,000 |
| Total Revenue, 1789, | £6,395,000 |

By the accounts laid before Parliament in 1825 the revenues were—

1825.

| | |
|---|---|
| Revenue of Bengal . . . . . | £14,128,776 |
| Madras . . . . . | 5,585,210 |
| Bombay . . . . . | 3,352,875 |
| Total Revenue of India, 1825, | £23,066,861 |

The expenditure of 1826 amounted to 21,574,111*l.*, exclusive of 1,749,068*l.*, paid for interest upon the debt.

The total amount of territorial debts in India was, in the same year, 42,870,876*l.*, of which not more than 34,796,836*l.* bears interest. The total territorial assets were not less than 21,562,989*l.*, so that the excess of debts, above assets, was only 21,307,887*l.*, a sum trifling when compared with the revenue.

There is always, according to one of the provisions of the Act of 1813, a floating account between the Company at home, and the territorial branch in India, in consequence of the advances furnished by the latter for the purchase of the investment, and of the payments at home for purposes chargeable on the territorial revenue.

The total balance due to the commercial branch of the Company's affairs for payments of this description since 1814, after setting off the advances in India from the territorial revenue on account of the investment, was estimated to amount, in May, 1829, to the sum of 4,731,230*l.*; within the same period there had also been set apart, from the surplus commercial profits in England, the sum of 4,923,020*l.* towards the liquidation of India debt, in conformity with the provision of the Act of 1813 above cited, for the appropriation

of the commercial profits. Without including either of the above advances, the commercial assets of the Company at home were computed to amount to 12,521,153*l.* The commercial debts at home were 1,284,533*l.*, exclusive of the home bond debt, amounting to 3,795,892*l.* at 3 per cent., which has not been specifically charged to either branch of the Company's affairs, it not having been determined to what extent the debt had its origin in political causes.

The commercial assets in India are estimated at 2,827,779*l.*; while the commercial debts amount to only 113,655*l.*; so that, if the Company, as a commercial concern, were to be immediately dissolved, there would remain surplus assets to the amount of 13,940,744*l.* to cover the capital stock.

## *Territorial Revenues and Charges of India for the Year* 1829-30.

| REVENUES. | £. |
|---|---|
| Mints | 36,483 |
| Post Office | 132,565 |
| Stamps | 424,692 |
| Judicial | 114,670 |
| Land Revenue | 14,314,660 |
| Customs | 1,837,127 |
| Ceded Territory | 569,676 |
| Burmese Cessions | 103,240 |
| Salt | 2,421,619 |
| Opium | 1,757,400 |
| Marine | 61,769 |
| Ava Indemnification | 92,220 |
| Bhurtpore | 34,800 |
| Subsidies | 392,355 |
| Bank profits | 8,640 |
| | 22,301,916 |
| Deduct over estimate of land revenue of Bombay | 247,500 |
| Total Revenue of India, 1829-30 | £22,054,416 |

| CHARGES. | £. |
|---|---|
| Civil Charges | 1,781,171 |
| Provincial Battalions & in the Western Provinces | 132,124 |
| Mints | 80,768 |
| Post Office | 128,947 |
| Stamps | 105,674 |
| Judicial | 1,694,908 |
| Land Revenue | 3,323,925 |
| Customs | 196,916 |
| Ceded Territory | 145,696 |
| Burmese Cessions | 41,760 |
| Salt | 607,691 |
| Opium | 666,420 |
| Marine | 339,410 |
| Claims on Carnatic | 24,000 |
| Buildings and repairs | 516,201 |
| Military | 9,103,091 |
| | 18,888,702 |
| Interest on Debts | 2,139,117 |
| Expenses of St. Helena | 93,004 |
| Political charges incurred in England, cluding invoice account of stores consigned to India | 1,742,162 |
| Total charges | 22,862,985 |
| Deduct Regenues | 22,054,416 |
| Surplus charge in the years 1829-30 | £808,569 |

It should be here remarked, that famine and drought are of so frequent occurrence in the East, that the amount of the revenue collected from the land cannot be depended on as uniform.

Such is the extent, and such are the resources of the vast empire, for the future interests of which the Legislature is shortly to provide, and momentous will be the consequences of its decision to England as well as India.

No similar case can be cited in the annals of ancient or modern history to guide the statesman or philosopher in the course best suited, in these eventful days, to consolidate the interests of Great Britain and her Indian possessions, and secure to the inhabitants of both, the prosperity and happiness which each may reciprocally bestow. Eighty-eight years only have passed since the most important extension of our territorial possessions in Hindostan took place, and conturies may yet shed their consecrating influence on the conquests achieved indeed by the valour of a Clive, a Cornwallis, and a Wellington, but preserved, and secured to England, by the respect and affection of eighty millions of the natives of India.

Let not the corroding spirit of discontent and innovation be suffered to diminish that respect, or alienate that affection. Let the field be open to honourable commercial enterprise in England and India; and let it be remembered,

that as not more than thirty thousand Europeans have hitherto secured the allegiance of the latter, the too extensive admission of European settlers, may prove not less dangerous to the interests of the community, than ruinous to the individual adventurers. The day is yet distant when the institutions of India can be assimilated to those of Great Britain, and a premature clamour for such an assimilation would in India be dangerous in the extreme, exciting the ambition of other powers to represent that as an arbitrary Government which is now considered by the natives as a paternal one; to tamper with the loyalty of our two hundred and fifty thousand native soldiery; and finally, to wrest from us that empire, which has rendered England the Rome of the present age?

Alme Sol, curru nitido diem qui
Promis et celâs, aliusque et idem
Nasceris; possis nihil Urbe Româ
Visere Majus!

# APPENDIX.

*Memorandum, or Paper of Hints proposed by the President of the Board of Control to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors, December 18th, 1832, and by them to the General Court of Proprietors on the 25th of March, 1833.*

(CONFIDENTIAL.)

THE China Monopoly to cease.

The East India Company to retain their Political Functions.

The Company's Assets, Commercial and Territorial, with all their Possessions and Rights, to be assigned to the Crown, on behalf of the Territorial Government of India.

An Annuity of 630,000*l.* to be granted to the Proprietors, to be paid in England by half-yearly Instalments, and to be charged upon the Territorial Revenues of India exclusively, and to form part of the Territorial Debt of that Country, not to be redeemable before the 30th of April, 18—, and then, at the option of Parliament, by the payment of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* 5*s.* of annuity.

Such part of the Commercial Assets as is convertible into Money to be so converted, and the proceeds, with the Cash Balance of the Commercial Department, as exhibited in the Account of Stock by Computation for the 30th April, 1834, appropriated to the discharge of

an amount of the present Territorial Debt, equal to a Capital producing 630,000*l.* a year.

The Territorial Revenue of India to be chargeable with all expenses incurred on account of that country at home and abroad.

The new annuitants to retain the character of a Joint Stock Company.

The qualification of the Proprietors, and the right of voting, to remain as at present.

The number of Directors to be ; one-fourth to go out by rotation every year, but to be immediately re-eligible.

The patronage to remain vested in the Directors.

The Military patronage to be exercised as at present.

The Civil Servants to be educated at Haileybury.

The details of the arrangement to be settled hereafter; but, perhaps, something of the following nature might answer:

The students at the College to be considered only as competitors for Writerships.

Their number to be so regulated, that there may be always more candidates than appointments.

Each student to remain at the College no longer than years.

Vacancies for Civil appointments in India to be filled from the College, on public examination, by the students approved the most able.

The Directors to fill up the vacancies at the College each year: each Director to nominate in succession.

The plans and arrangements respecting the course and subjects of study to be formed by the Board and the Professors.

The 47th section of the 53d Geo. III. cap. 155, to

remain, but made applicable to *removal* as well as appointment, and to *Professors* as well as Principals.

The Governor General in Council to report annually, on his responsibility, the number of Writers and Cadets and Assistant Surgeons required for the service of the next year.

The Board of Control to have the power of reducing, but not of augmenting, that number.

Every British subject to have the right of going out to the seats of Government of the three Presidencies of India, without license; but his right of visiting the interior, or of residing there, and of acquiring and holding property, to be subject to the restraints and regulations which the local Government may impose.

The powers of the Court, and its relations with the India Board, to remain as at present, except as modified in the following summary:

The Court, on the Board's final and conclusive order, are to send the dispatch by the first ship that goes after such order.

In the event of the Court refusing to prepare a dispatch, or to send a dispatch as altered by the Board, the Board to have the power of sending it themselves.

Appointment of Governors subject, as now, to the approbation of the King; but the Board to have a veto on the recall.

The same with regard to Commanders of the Forces.

The Board to have the same power with regard to pensions or salaries below 200*l.* a year, and to gratuities below 600*l.*, that they have now with respect to salaries, pensions, or gratuities above those amounts.

Home expenditure and establishment to be under the control of the Board.

*The following Resolutions were agreed upon at a General Court of Proprietors, held at Leadenhall Street on Friday, the 3d of May*, 1833:

"That having attentively considered the correspondence which was laid before the Proprietors on the 25th ultimo, this Court must, in the first place, express their cordial approbation of the conduct of the Court of Directors, in maintaining, as they have done, with judgment, zeal, and ability, the rights and interests of the East India Company.

"That on reviewing the intimate connection which has so long subsisted between India and the Company, this Court desire to record their conviction, that the Company can have no other object in undertaking to administer the Territorial Government for a further term, than the advancement of the happiness and prosperity of our native subjects; and that if Parliament in its wisdom should consider, as his Majesty's Ministers have declared, that that great object may be best promoted by continuing the administration in the hands of the Company, but divested of their commercial character, the Company having, through the Court of Directors suggested, as it was their duty to do, the difficulties and dangers, political as well as financial, which beset the dissolution of the connection between the Territorial and the Commercial branches of their affairs, will not shrink from the undertaking, even at the sacrifices required, provided that powers be reserved to enable the Company efficiently to administer the Government, and that their pecuniary rights and claims be adjusted on the principle of fair and liberal compromise.

" That the Company, however, looking to the present and prospective state of the Indian Finances, to the aid which the territory derives from the trade, and to the probable difficulty of effecting remittances from India under the proposed system, are of opinion that it is not reasonable that ' the Company's assets, Commercial and Territorial, with all their possessions and rights, shall be assigned to the Crown on behalf of the Territorial Government of India,' in exchange, as proposed by his Majesty's Ministers, for an Annuity of ten and a half per cent. for 40 years, payable in England out of the Territorial Revenues, and redeemable at the end of that period at the rate of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* 5*s.* of Annuity, except on the following conditions, viz. :

" First. That the sum to be set apart for a Guarantee Fund be extended to such an amount as upon reasonable calculation will be sufficient, with the accumulations during 40 years, to redeem the annuity at the expiration of that term ; and that, in the event of India failing in any one year to remit sufficient funds to pay the Dividend, the deficiency shall be supplied out of the Guarantee Fund, any sums which may be taken for that purpose being made good to the Fund by subsequent remittances from India.

" Secondly. That the Company, exercising the same powers as they now possess under their Charter, shall continue to administer the Government of India for a defined period, not less than twenty years ; and if deprived of it at the expiration of that term, or at any time subsequent thereto, they shall be allowed the option of demanding payment of the principal at the rate of 100*l.* for each 5*l.* 5*s.* of Annuity ; and whenever paid off they will be entitled, if they shall see fit, with their ca-

pital, or any portion thereof, to resume their undoubted right to trade, which it is now proposed by his Majesty's Ministers should be in abeyance.

"Thirdly. That during the period of the Company's administration of the Territorial Government, all measures involving direct or contingent expenditure shall originate with the Court of Directors, and be subject, as at present, to the control of the Board of Commissioners, under the restrictions of the existing law; and further, that sufficient powers be reserved to the Company to check, by a system of publicity to both Houses of Parliament, or by some other means, any acts of the Board which may appear to the Court of Directors to be unconstitutional, to militate against the principles of good government, to interfere with substantial justice to our allies, or to invalidate or impair the security for the dividend; and,

"Fourthly. That a sufficient power be retained over the Commercial Assets to enable the Court of Directors to propose to the Company, and ultimately to the Board for their confirmation, a plan for making suitable provision for outstanding commercial obligations, and for such of the Commercial Officers and Servants of the Company as may be affected by the proposed arrangements.

"That the Court of Directors be requested to communicate this resolution to his Majesty's Ministers."

PETER AUBER, *Secretary.*

THE END.

R. SKEEN, PRINTER, 29, MAIDEN LANE, COVENT GARDEN.